

JOE
CLARK'S FAREWELL:
AN ERA ENDS

Maclean's

THE GREATEST FEAR



THE
SENSATIONAL
CASE OF
ACCUSED
RAPIST
PAUL
BERNARDO

- SHOULD CHILD ABUSERS
GET PRISON PAROLE?
- WAYS TO 'STREET-PROOF'
THE YOUNG



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An Undeserved Snub

In Washington last week, President Bill Clinton laid the ground running with a detailed economic program and a vision for the future well-being of America. Inevitably, at least, it commands wide support and it has generated a stimulating debate that engages both Republicans and Democrats in a healthy exchange of views—constructive ideas, as reported by *Washington Bureau Chief Hilary Maclean*. Meanwhile, in Ottawa last week, NDP Leader Audrey McLaughlin took the unusual step of releasing her party's detailed economic plan for governing during the run-up to a general election. Such programs outline plans for debt reduction, tax increases on all but the poorest stratum of society and government spending to build new infrastructure and create new jobs. But in Canada, the McLaughlin plan met with polite silence, at best, or outright scorn from her political opponents, and dismissal by self-insured commentators.

Part of the difference in the reception given to the two programs is easily explainable. Clinton is the President of the United States and his actions have implications for nearly every country in the world. Audrey McLaughlin is the leader of a third party that has never held power in Ottawa. But that is an explanation, not an excuse, for the obvious disregard of the extreme work and imagination that went into the McLaughlin plan. If it is ignored, debated and rejected, that would be a scandalous slur on democracy. But it is sad that even those Canadians who most despise neo-conservative political economy would find every recommendation unhelpful. Even if they did, careful attention to what the NDP is proposing might have voters to demand that the Liberals and Tories present clear and acceptable alternative policies while there is still time to debate their merits in a real and sustained way before the election test is dropped and the remaining best of new policies turn up the foundations of rational thought. It is not too late.



Meanwhile, the NDP's economic plan draws attention, not polite silence or outright scorn.

Kam Woyke

Maclean's

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NICOLAS CAGE

SAMUEL L. JACKSON



AMOS ODELL
Height: 6'11"
Complexion: medium



ANDREW STERLING
Ruffian Horseman

Amos Odell's Play
"The Book of
Where Art Thou?"
goes to the movies

Amos & Andrew

At Theatres This February

The real people

Assessing the slow progress of prosperity for everyone in Russia under capitalism, Moscow columnist Arkady Cherkizov writes: "For too many so-called ordinary people in Russia, the market economy spells only unemployment and inflation. Private enterprise spells exploitation of man by man. Bureaucracy spells cheating people. Western-style democracy spells anarchy and independent mass media spells free propaganda of race hate, pornography, rock music instead of Berlioz and so on." Your cover story ("The New Russians," Feb. 18) has largely confirmed that the "ordinary people's" aspirations have been right on target.

William Dauterick
Peleeville, Ont.

Two of last week's noteworthy Canadian stories—pois-suffragin children in Downs East and the people who lost their jobs due to the abrupt closing of the Pontiac Automotive Trucks line plant in Cape Breton—were referred to one-page articles in your Feb. 18 issue. Your cover story was right: papers lying on the New Russian. I expect better in-depth coverage of important Canadian stories in a Canadian magazine.

Gips Oshropek
Montreal

Quality of life

The lifestyle article ("Barted and bashed," Feb. 18) presents this letter. The accompanying picture was captioned "Residents smoking during Toronto nursing home shovelling to obey the law." I sympathize with those poor souls in a way that no smoker could possibly fathom. As a smoker, well into my 70s, I have smoked for 60 years. I live a very simple life, yet I am content with my few pleasures, of which smoking happens to be one. If it cuts a few years off my life, at least I will have enjoyed the years I had.

Don Gorman
Midland, Ont.

Maclean's is misleading and mischievous in writing of a "banned" use on smokers. There is no war against smokers; they are the victims of predatory marketing of a drug whose beyond reasonable scientific doubts to be as addictive as cocaine and heroin. If it is a dangerous to smoke at work, then let us try to educate correctly and not use the existing. You take an underhanded crack at the in-



Shoppers in Moscow market, a hint for slow progress of Russian capitalism

gressive report from the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency on environmental tobacco smoke (ETS, which you call "so-called second-hand smoke"). Why not tell the truth in the report: cigarettes that kill. You conclude by saying that the home may be that last refuge for smokers. Do not be too sure: the day is not far off when we will regard, legally and socially, exposure of children and non-smoking spouses to ETS in private homes and vehicles as a form of abuse.

J. Allan Milrod
Babineau, Ont.

Montrealers love to proclaim that they have more spirit than Torontonians. But if they were truly smug, all consoling Montrealers would run up and leave those pretty smokers out of the restaurant. What people like Nick and der Mann mean is that the smokers in Montreal treat any nonsmoker as a crank, pretentious as the blattings of children who should be seen and not heard.

Steven Jovineau
Toronto

Enemy in Alberta

Thanks for Fred Bruning's well-written article about homophobia in the United States. ("The new U.S. enemy within: homosexuals," An American View, Feb. 18). As a gay person living in Alberta, it day does not go by when I am not told in some way that I am a filthy abstraction. Why not write an article inferring what it is like to be gay in 1993 in Alberta? It will make the United States seem like Disneyland.

Paul Macleod
Calgary

Genital, not spiritual

André Gide's difficulty with his Jewish blacklight how elevated many Christians become with sexual activity ("The wrath of Rome," Religion, Feb. 15). Indeed, their attempts to elevate this relatively minor drive into some kind of sacred celebration at the end would be hilarious, if it did not do so much harm. True, Catholics like Pauline and Hopley worship sex almost as much, but they do not try to pretend that genital activity will lead to some kind of spiritual enlightenment. Perhaps it might be better for our theologians to browse through such magazines, rather than to lower ourselves on those sections of the Bible that seem to interest them most.

Andy McLaughlin
Victoria

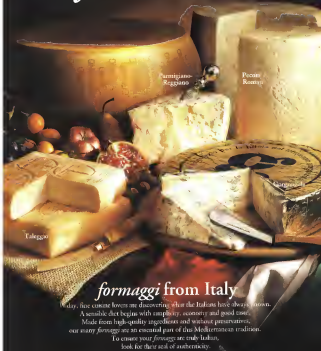
Enchanted nights

For many of us in this country who will never see 50 years but who were young boys during the Second World War, Alan Paterson's column "Memories of a time that never changes" (Feb. 8) was a delightful piece of writing. Every Saturday night in the winter, Peter Howitt, the premier of all the play-acting detectives after his retiring words, "Solo Canada and hockey lies in the United States and Newfoundland," would draw his word pictures of Bob Davidson with his socks down low and all my other heroes on the only team that mattered in a boy growing up in Toronto—Maple Leafs.

Frederic W. Knight
Rindler, Ont.

Letter was too confused. Please print name, address and phone number. Write letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean's House, 177 St. James St. Toronto, Ont. M5H 1K7. Tel. (416) 593-7700.

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Italian Institute for Foreign Trade

OPENING NOTES

Glad-handing in Armenia, gambling on video and burials in the sky

BETTING ON SUCCESS

Business in the competitive 1990s is a gamble, and Spivia Gaming International Inc. clearly likes it that way. The Montreal, N.B.-based company is the sole Canadian manufacturer of video betting machines—and it is winning big. In business for just 14 years, Spivia has already supplied 4,800 of the 11,000 video betting games in use in Canada, most of them in Newfoundland. Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, where video slot machines are legal. In 1990, the company had sales of over \$12 million. "The big difference is that our games offer more player interaction," said Rafael Cardillo, the company's vice-president for sales and marketing: the added that Spivia machines, which cost from \$5,000 to \$15,000, are so popular that they take in 50 to 70 per cent more money than rival products from the United States. Last year, the company set up a subsidiary, Spivia USA of Boston, to crack the lucrative American casino market. The proposed legislation of video betting in other provinces could soon make Spivia's fortunes at home. And while critics charge that betting machines encourage compulsive gambling,



Video betting in Montreal's 'Intervention'

Cardillo calculates that there is nothing useful about Spivia's business. "Let's face it—80 per cent of players who play the machines do so for enjoyment," he says. "They about 20 per cent are compulsive gamblers, but these are the ones everyone hears and reads about."

Maclean's BEST-SELLER LIST

- FICTION**
- 1 *The English Patient*, Michael Ondaatje (3)
 - 2 *Drifters & Strangers*, Richard (1)
 - 3 *Selena's Notebook*, Richard (2)
 - 4 *Selena's Notebook*, Richard (2)
 - 5 *Drifters & Strangers*, Richard (1)
 - 6 *Angels and Demons*, David
 - 7 *Emmett's Dream*, Lillian (1)
 - 8 *Myself, Herself, Alone*, 191
 - 9 *Drifters & Strangers*, Richard (1)
 - 10 *Drifters & Strangers*, Richard (1)

- NONFICTION**
- 1 *Women Who Run With Wolves*, Zella (2)
 - 2 *Shifting Gears*, David (1)
 - 3 *System of Survival*, Jack
 - 4 *Wandering and the Wind*, Mervyn (2)
 - 5 *Peeping in the Twenty-First Century*, Richard
 - 6 *Perception Shift*, Tapan (1)
 - 7 *Who's It All About*, David (1)
 - 8 *Confessions*, David
 - 9 *Making the Mummies Dance*, Mervyn (2)
 - 10 *The Wives of Henry VIII*, Peter (1)

17 *Protein* by David
Compiled by Susan Bellone

WORD FOR WORD

'JUST CAUSE'

In December, the federal government tabled a series of controversial changes to the Unemployment Insurance Act aimed at denying benefits to workers who leave their jobs without "just cause." After a storm of protest, the Conservatives reverse the new rules last week to ensure that workers who accept voluntary layoff packages will continue to be eligible for unemployment insurance. The top 30 acceptable reasons for quitting a job, according to a government background paper:

- 1 Sexual or other harassment.
- 2 Obligation to accompany a spouse or dependent child to another residence.
- 3 Discrimination on prohibited ground of discrimination within the meaning of the Canadian Human Rights Act.
- 4 Working conditions that constitute a danger to health or safety.
- 5 Obligation to care for a child or an immediate family member.
- 6 Reasonable assurance of other employment in the immediate future.
- 7 Significant national changes to working conditions—such as hours of work, wages, or benefits.
- 8 Formal promise of increase in wages or salary not fulfilled.
- 9 Having children not honored.
- 10 Unjustified reduction in wages.
- 11 Loss in wages due to employer's financial difficulties.
- 12 Wages or salary less than those provided by legislation.
- 13 Excessive hours of overtime.
- 14 Failure to pay overtime as stipulated.
- 15 Dislike—stable situation.
- 16 Dislike with instability—harsh atmosphere created by supervisors.
- 17 Unreasonable restrictive conditions of work.
- 18 Moral objections—employer's practices contrary to professional ethics, law, regulations.
- 19 Moral objections—illegal activities or contrary to fundamental ethical values.
- 20 Unfair treatment—employer's abusive treatment.

CAMPAIGN 1994

The next U.S. congressional elections are nearly two years away, but Representative Joseph P. Kennedy II put in some early campaigning this month—in Armenia. The half-blooded former Soviet republic is at war with Azerbaijan, which has imposed an economic blockade that has interrupted fuel shipments and reduced the supply of electricity to most Armenian homes. Facilities and hospitals in two hours a day. On Feb. 11, Kennedy, a Massachusetts Democrat, arrived in Yerevan, Armenia's capital, for a whirlwind three-day tour to drop off medical supplies and to promote political support for UN intervention in the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict. Why the interest in a country halfway across the world? Kennedy's Boston-area constituency includes a well-organized community of about 30,000 Armenian-Americans.



Kennedy in Armenia: 'big guy'

In Yerevan, Kennedy, 40, breezily dispensed doses of the famed Kennedy charm. "Well, I hope you have your long johns on," was his opening remark to Bishop Sargis Mesrobian as they met in a friend's office in St. Nicholas Church. The bishop, a bearded man, quickly found himself posing for photographs while holding a "Kennedy for Congress" T-shirt in front of his dark, ecclesiastical robes. Later, during a tour at hospitals, orphanages and old-age homes, Kennedy displayed a friendly approach to his mission. "Stay in there, big guy," he told one 70-year-old pensioner who was being transferred to a cold hospital room. "Everything is going to be great." Still, many of the Armenians that Kennedy encountered were still doubtful to be positive in view of his country's chaotic political climate—although many mistake him for a son of JFK. "He was my uncle," he proudly explained on several occasions. "Robert Kennedy was my father."

Robert Kennedy was my father.

A FLYING FAREWELL

If a plot in the local newspaper sends two controversial politicians for their dear departed, residents of Houston now have an other option. For both is a new company to that city will transport "criminals" (former voluntary people for "criminal" register), along with up to three ministers, into the new-and-gold sky at late afternoon and scatter the ashes over sea, land, and air—where, as long as it's not a populated area. And Joseph Kennedy, just owner of Aerial Burial. The company's five founders, including four pilots, decided to go into business last month after performing the unusual rite voluntarily for bereaved friends. "We get a lot of requests for people who were pilots, or who have a time or much or some place that they're important to them," Kennedy said. After cremation, the ashes are taken into a black single-engine biplane and scattered in Kennedy's "like a black house in the sky." One of the advantages of the service, the Texas entrepreneur added, is that unlike a burial in a cemetery, there are no ongoing costs after it's done.

Fashion secrets

When the spotlight is switched on the Academy Awards, there is often as much attention paid to what the guests wear as to what they win. On March 28, Hollywood's annual tributes to itself will attract the usual stars, including host and award nominee Michelle Pfeiffer (Gloria Steinem), Susan Sarandon (Lorraine Hansberry) and Catherine Deneuve (Unfathomable), along with a host of other stars and would-be celebrities. But the Hollywood crowd might find a newcomer stealing the fashion limelight. Last week, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences announced that Jaye Davidson is its



Davidson: 'big guy'

newest member for Oscar. Davidson's role in the 1980 British hit *The Crying Game* is not only the first for the 34-year-old former fashion designer, but it is also proof to one of the year's most talked about plot twists—a secret that the film's distributor, Miramax Pictures, has explained in print and TV advertisements. For those who have missed the movie (and the Academy's first has been nominated), Davidson is best supporting actress, the other Londoner's appearance at the Oscars will spill the surprise at the heart of *The Crying Game*. And what will the surprise be? "Whatever it is," Davidson said last week, "it will be elegant."

PASSAGES

WOMEN: By Weinstein covering figure and former Richard Nixon aide Charles Colson, 67, the 1980 Templeton Prize for religion for his work as the founder, in 1975, of the Friends of the World's Largest Prayer Outreach Program. The prize is worth \$125,000, which Colson said he would donate to his volunteer organization. It seeks to subsidize converts by spreading the gospel of Jesus Christ in prisons in the United States and 50 other countries, including Canada. Colson served seven months in prison in 1974-1975 for obstruction of justice and conspiracy after he leaked FBI documents that contained damaging information about President Billings. He was who had leaked the Pentagon papers about the Vietnam War to the press.

DISCLOSURE: As having the AIDS virus, San Francisco-based journalist Randy Shilkin, 41, author of *And the Road Played On*, an autobiographical account of 1987 book that traces the origins of AIDS and criticized the U.S. government's slow response to the epidemic. The book also criticized Gaetan Dugas, a prominent Canadian scientist, as having played a key role in spreading the virus in its early years. Dugas died in 1984.

DIED: Acclaimed Canadian classical pianist Richard Grevin, 50, of cancer, in a Montreal hospital. A pupil of famed German pianist Wilhelm Kempfer, among others, Grevin performed and recorded widely in Canada, the United States and Europe.



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COLUMN



A terrible choice for a dinner guest

BY BARBARA AMIEL

Sometimes, I see red. A terrible rage comes over me, I get angry and afterwards I feel ashamed. The most recent occasion took place when I telephoned a Jan. Greenblatt to find out more about a letter inviting sponsorship for a March, 1993, dinner in Toronto honouring Mikhail Gorbachev.

The letter urged support at this occasion (\$5,000 for a table of 10, or \$2,500 to include a private reception with Mr. Gorbachev) for two reasons. "First," explained the letter, "the ending of the Cold War brought with it the realization that, while the superpowers spent 40 years arming themselves and others with weapons of mass destruction, basic human needs were left unmet. Second, in the face of severe degradation, people's faith in democracy erodes. Mikhail Gorbachev was the first person in the history of Russia to bring democracy to that country in any sustained way."

"This letter was signed by 'co-chairs' at 'The Mikhail Gorbachev Dinner,' George Cohen and William Davis. It contracted one to telephone Greenblatt at 849V and so I did. "Why," I asked, "see you doing this?" Greenblatt replied with a beaming enthusiasm. "We are trying to set up a middle road between Gorbachev and Yeltsin," she said. This puzzled me. "Why?" I wondered. Her reply was abrupt: "We don't want to be ideological. We just want to help the children." I was generous. "The sunny you are talking about," I said. Greenblatt was patient, as if listening to a small and naive child. "One ethical crisis and objectives fall right in line with these set up by the Gorbachev Foundation and are close to those of Jimmy Carter." A striking feeling set in. "I've seen the hospitals without paans of glass," she said, "I know where the sea goes and" the terrible pain and suffering of the children." As I concluded she said, "I know where you are coming from. I hope not. But only once, I thought, is that Bob Cohen, Davis and Brian Mulroney who

Mikhail Gorbachev didn't understand that the notion of reform communism was as realistic as the notion of reform Nazism

visited Gorbachev, she hasn't really thought the matter through.

Before I spoke again, let me say that my problem is not with giving humanitarian aid to Russia, but with honoring and aiding the man who to the very end fought against democracy. Gorbachev spent his very last days trying to save the Communist party and prevent military政变. Had he been successful, he would now be the ruler of what Cohen and Davis wish to describe as an "authoritarian" regime, but which by all means properly describe as a totalitarian regime.

Since I refer to Mr. Cohen, senior chairman of McDonald's Restaurants of Canada Ltd., I tried to think of the best possible reason he was participating in this obscenity. McDonald's has a large investment in Russia and that seems to me a good thing. To paraphrase Charles Wilson, the former president of General Motors: "What's good for McDonald's is probably good for Russia."

Cohen may simply have tried to think of the best possible "line" for a dinner to raise the money and for a people he likes and who are good to help. I suppose many people might pay for dinner with Gorbachev, out of pure curiosity to see the man who headed up

the Soviet Union and just—although possibly I'd pay a lot more to see Bob Cohen. The source, though, in choosing Gorbachev is made clear in the letter. The first reason given for holding the dinner is all that nonsense about the "superpowers" spending tons of money on weapons of mass destruction. To speak of the "superpowers" as if the Soviet Union and the United States were equally formidable, raises once more the theme of racial equivalency. One would have thought that by now that idea would be out of fashion. Simply put, the United States did not arm itself with weapons of mass destruction in order to enslave and murder millions of people. There was no evil empire and that was the Soviet Union, and it was best to conquer as much of the world as it could and establishing the most insurance systems wherever it had influence. This is not my history, but a fact now well established with most of the evidence coming in the past few years from the Kremlin itself. The West, on the other hand, armed itself in order to slow down, contain and prevent the spread of this terrible virus.

The second problem is with the role of Gorbachev. There is no question that he acted in a way that brought about the dissolving of communism and the end of one of the most repressive tyrannies the world has ever seen. Nor is there any question that he personally wanted to get rid of its worst excesses, not understanding what the hardline Communists were telling him day and night; namely, that the worst features of communism were its cancer and without them the whole edifice would collapse. In this way, inadvertently, he helped the downfall of communism. Now, if that makes him a democrat, then I'm a socialist. What Gorbachev didn't understand was that reform communism was about as realistic as the notion of reform Nazism. Incidentally, would you give money to see the man who tries to save Russia and give it a Russian law?

Russia today faces terrible problems. All are the direct result of 70 years of the system that has destroyed all that was human and destroyed all the values—both spiritual and secular—that had been a necessary part and create the qualities of character and attitude that are the building blocks of good citizens. All these problems were imposed by the system which he was emerging into the open. Some segments of the Western media and elite are still trying to blame these terrible difficulties not on the measures of communism but on its creation. It is as if they looked at a bloody poster after an assault by a mob and then said, "It was the poster for the mob because they couldn't see what happened when he was incarcerated."

Today, Communists demonstrate in Red Square in Toronto, George Cohen and William Davis want to honor the man who, in the unlikely event to be discussed here, put a stop to the Russian system, might be the prime commandment once more. I imagine Gorbachev needs a job and has a lot of his fellow countrymen, but however he is, decent Canadians shouldn't employ him.

WHODUNIT? CLARK DID IT

**JOE CLARK SAYS
GOODBYE TO
POLITICS—AT
LEAST FOR NOW—
AFTER 21 YEARS
IN PARLIAMENT**

He faced a formidable array of opponents—most of them more experienced than he was, some more glamorous, several more eloquent, but he ran up the middle of the pack and beat them all. Moments afterward, a disfigured piece of the leg of his first pair of pants. Joe Clark, 46, and his 35-year-old daughter, Catherine, pressed him to stay. Clark considered their entreaties, but when interesting job possibilities came to him, the temptation was too much. Clark indicated that he may write, teach or engage in international work. Friends say that he may head a new social policy think-tank. He said in his Calgary press conference that he does not plan to return to politics—unless, he added with a grin, he decides to run for mayor in his native High River, Alta. "Politics is an all-consuming career," he said. "I have other things to do, it is time to do them."

Clark's apparent comfortable contemplating his own destiny. As the minister holds the Calgary news conference. "Not running again reflects my reflection in public life, but it doesn't take me entirely out of it. I'm somewhat about the state of our national institutions, including the national media. I want to enlarge the debate." Those tributes were later raised for a politician who spent much of his early political life taking the measure of his critics. Born in the small farming community of High River, the son of the publisher of the local newspaper, Clark's early career was set in 1956, when he was the local mayor. Clark first speaking contest. The prize was a trip to Ottawa, where a heated partisan debate over the building of a trans-

continentals route. Clark was one of the few ministers accepted as a worthy negotiator both by the protesters and by skeptical groups. Although voters rejected the proposed Charlottetown accord on Oct. 26, Clark emerged almost unscathed from the failure.

When the 53-year-old minister announced—following a pre-election "campaign college" for Alberta federal Tories—that he himself would not seek re-election, he gave little indication of what he intends to do next. Although he has lasted for months that he would cut run again in his native Yellowstone riding, his closest friends had naturally urged him to reconsider. Many argued that if Mulroney retired, Clark would be the only Tory who could win the next election. Even his wife, Margaret McTier, 46, and his 35-year-old daughter, Catherine, pressed him to stay. Clark considered their entreaties, but when interesting job possibilities came to him, the temptation was too much. Clark indicated that he may write, teach or engage in international work. Friends say that he may head a new social policy think-tank. He said in his Calgary press conference that he does not plan to return to politics—unless, he added with a grin, he decides to run for mayor in his native High River, Alta. "Politics is an all-consuming career," he said. "I have other things to do, it is time to do them."

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Those tributes were later raised for a politician who spent much of his early political life taking the measure of his critics. Born in the small farming community of High River, the son of the publisher of the local newspaper, Clark's early career was set in 1956, when he was the local mayor. Clark first speaking contest. The prize was a trip to Ottawa, where a heated partisan debate over the building of a trans-

Clark in Ottawa last week: speculation about next steps



Canada national gas pipeline was raging in Parliament. Clark was captivated. And after earning a master's degree in political science from the University of Alberta—where, he dropped out of law school—he joined the Conservatives in Ottawa as an aide to then-leader Robert Stanfield. In 1967, he ran for the provincial Tories in Calgary South and lost. Finally in 1979, when he was 33 but already a veteran backroom politician, he won a seat in the Commons.

When Clark won the leadership four years later, he was an ambitious, relatively untested son. Many older caucus members could scarcely conceal their disapproval of his leadership mantle. His boss, former prime minister John Diefenbaker, was almost contemptuous. But Clark went on to defeat Pierre Trudeau and form a minority government in 1979, declaring that he would govern as if he had a majority. Nine months later, his government fell on a budget that would have imposed an 18-cent oil price increase on gasoline—and a Liberal landslide followed. For the next three years, Clark and Mulroney, his former leadership rival, waged a bitter struggle for control of the party machinery, which culminated in the 1983 leadership contest. When Clark lost, many were expected that he would leave. Instead, he stayed, pledging his loyalty to his former foe. In 1985, Mulroney, president of the Business Council on National Issues and Clark's mentor, made him vice-chancellor of the University of British Columbia law students. "It is almost as though Joe has a more subtle sense of humor than he lets on," says a friend.

That inner strength saved Clark's reputation and his career. For more than six years after Mulroney's 1984 landslide victory, Clark served as minister of external affairs, a portfolio that he descended from the Prime Minister in return for unflinching support. His performance on the international scene was so successful that the prime minister who feared derision in 1979 for his proposal to move the Canadian embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem was, by 1986, a personal defender.

But Clark's greatest challenge was his attempt to bridge the constitutional gulf that separated Quebec and the rest of the country. With persistent private brokering and public eloquence, he helped a fragile alliance to build what he usually called his "historic agreement"—a phrase that he later admitted was perhaps an exaggeration. Clearly worried about the potential reaction to the Clark agreement in Quebec, Mulroney subsequently described it as simply a "meeting of minds." After the collapse of the Clark-to-town deal, a close Clark-to-town deal. "After all the trials of his political career, the failure of the constitutional accord took the spark out of his eyes." That spark may have dimmed but it has not been extinguished. Clark will travel to Ottawa this month to meet a speaker and then go to talk to make another house could be the status of a politician in a reflective mood—he is now having his talents for yet another fight.

E. KAYE PULSTON in Ottawa with JOHN MORRIS in Calgary

National Notes

A LEADER'S VOICE

B.C. Liberal leader Gordon Wilson stopped onto an opposition leader after his wife, Shantel, publicly came out. But for months, it was in the closet. This was not a report of his week that the 61-year-old Wilson wanted to disclose from his wife in the wake of political rumors that he is having an affair with Liberal M.L.A. Jack Tydes. But Shantel Wilson told reporters that she had been waiting about a year to come out. "I haven't received any papers," she said. "We live together, cook meals together. To hell with him." She said that she had returned from a Mexican vacation to find that Tydes had spent a weekend in their home. Although Wilson stopped onto an opposition leader, he will not do so as party leader, at least until that issue is dealt with at the Liberal's April 28 convention.

BACKING DOWN

After an outcry from women's groups, corporate critics and members of its own Quebec caucus, the Conservative government amended sections of its tough new unemployment insurance legislation. Among the changes, workers who either quit voluntarily or are laid off during a corporate downsizing will be eligible for benefits after their average earnings run out. As well, women who quit their jobs because of sexual harassment will have their claims heard by 11 officers in provincial and Immigration Minister Bernard Valiquet said that the amendments will allow for the bill to do good benefits to people who leave their jobs without prior notice.

FIGHTING WORDS

In a Toronto speech, Liberal Conservative Minister Pierre Bédard called on broadcasters to voluntarily curb television violence—or face new federal regulations. He also threatened to pull federal government advertising from the TV network. The latter statement is the third largest advertisement in the country, he said. "It may well be time to use our clout by pulling our ads from violent programs and placing them in ones more consistent with the values we want to impart to our kids."

SLEUTH WORK

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney called bicyclists for Oct. 25 in the Quebec riding of Simard north of Montpelier, P.Q. As a risk to Mulroney, however, and that he represented the bicyclists to be represented by a general election. Officials also said that the federal budget will likely be delayed until late April or early May.

A sweetgrass ceremony

Davis Inlet Innu begin their treatment

Obscure and neglected, the native community of Davis Inlet, Nfld., suddenly received its national notoriety last June. It was reported that six Innu children aged 12 to 14 had tried to commit suicide by setting gasoline fires in the aftermath of that tragedy, the poverty-ridden community of 500 people became a symbol of the problems facing Canada's natives. Last week, 18 Innu youths arrived at Alberta's Poundmaker's Lodge, a rehabilitation centre near Edmonton run by nuns for natives, for three months of substance abuse treatment and counselling. Another 30 Davis Inlet children are also scheduled to undergo therapy at the centre—all at Ottawa's expense. Minister's Coligny Thomas Chief John House recently visited Poundmaker's life report.



and drug rehabilitation centre. The 39-year-old at Poundmaker's and its sister organization, the Nucle Institute on Alcohol and Drug Education—both founded in part by Ottawa and the Alberta governments—have been developing and implementing a program to help natives overcome abuse of alcohol, drugs and other substances. Poundmaker's provides the treatment, while Nucle raises the counselling that works in reserves across Canada as well as at the centre. Those efforts, says Nucle executive director Maggie Hodgson, have been guided by one clear philosophy: "Our experience tells us Indian people can best help Indian people," she says.

At Poundmaker's, named after the Cree chief who took part in the Northwest Rebellion of 1885, reminders of demons both past and present are always close at hand. Down the road from the centre are the headquarters and warehouses of the Alberta Liquor Control Board. Next to the lodge stands a boarded-up brick schoolhouse. Built in

Nucle counsellors are counselling abuse

A parking lot sign with the message, "Not New Country, Reclaim Your Heritage," greets visitors to Poundmaker's Lodge in St. Albert, a bedroom community on the northern outskirts of Edmonton. The dance lessons supplement the work that goes on in the sprawling, one-story school

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1985, the school was once part of the residential school system under which federal authorities uprooted native children from their homes and placed them in church-administered schools where they were forbidden to speak their native languages. At Poundmaker's, one component of the treatment program consists of helping patients overcome the trauma of abuse and poverty—and once again take pride in their native heritage. But in the case of the Davis Inlet Inuit, removed by Ottawa from their traditional hunting grounds in 1987 and resettled on an island off the remote northern coast of Labrador, clinic staff encounter ac-

knowledge that they face a special challenge. "Twenty-five years need to be assessed," Hodgson says.

The clinic offers a 20-day detox treatment program and a three-month exposure, including education, for adolescent patients. After the daily 7 a.m. wake-up call and breakfast, patients converse in the lodge's radio-walled, roofless communal room for the traditional Plains Indian sweatbath ceremony, a purification ritual. Following that, residents face a busy schedule of classes and counselling patterned after techniques developed by Alcoholics Anonymous and Narcotics Anonymous.

One primary aim of the program is to help self-esteem among patients. Native traditions are also strongly emphasized. Adolescent patients take part in a wilderness camp—even in the winter—in order to boost their self-confidence. The clinic also features sweatbath rituals that patients conduct to cleanse. "It's a real challenge to get them sweating the sweat out rather than sweating gas," says Albert Bouasse, Poundmaker's cultural director, of the Inuit children. Added the 57-year-old Saskatchewan Cree, who was himself a patient at the clinic in the 1960s: "I was reluctant to show because I was on trial now in Edmonton myself in the 1960s and 1980s."

Poundmaker's requires that all staff members abstain from alcohol—on and off duty. That is also an integral part of the clinic's philosophy: an alcohol-free environment helps natives to recover from substance abuse. Says Hodgson: "It is imperative not to use drugs or drink alcohol—at any time." But while the clinic can provide a wholesome setting, the natives to which patients return remain unchanged. "Poundmaker's was a lovely place to be," says Shale Wolf, 64, a native of Marley, Alta. Wolf, who now lives in Calgary, completed the Poundmaker program in the mid-1980s, but says that "it did not work." She explains: "When I went back to the reserve I was surrounded by unhealthy alcoholic people. I was drinking again in days." Notes Bouasse: "Those who did not search for support, or go to Alcoholics Anonymous. They often refuse to link up with other sober people or find a non-alcohol environment."

Is an attempt to ensure that the same fate does not befall the Inuit children, Nechi Inuit are currently in Davis Inlet to establish a support group that will help the youths upon their return. "We must build support back home for the people in their recovery stage now," says Hodgson. Adds Bouasse: "Those kids have been through a lot. Many have been sexually abused. It takes time to get rid of all the garbage."

For her part, Hodgson says that the battle against alcohol and drug abuse is a matter of "life and death" for native communities. That fact was underscored last week by the suicide of a young Inuit in the impoverished New Brunswick reserve of Big Cove—the seventh such suicide in nine months. According to local officials, the two previous deaths were alcohol-related, while another 75 people on the 2,800-member reserve have tried to commit suicide—including children as young as eight. Chief Albert Levi complained that Ottawa has done little to help Big Cove. Levi said that the band has asked for emergency assistance. But, in a direct reference to Davis Inlet, he added: "We don't receive the same kind of consideration as our neighbors. I guess that's the way the government departmental structure. I guess for us to lose young Indians every month, they seem to think that's for the best." His latter words were a sad reminder of the challenges facing Canada's natives and those who like the staff at Poundmaker's and Nechi, try to help them.

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THE GREATEST FEAR

OTTAWA PLANS TO EXTEND PRISON STAYS FOR SEX OFFENDERS, BUT CRITICS WORRY ABOUT VIGILANTISM

Robert Leach knew that he was dangerous to women. On Dec. 16, 1972, the 20-year-old was sentenced to life in prison for kidnapping, raping and sodomizing a Calgary woman at gunpoint. Three times over the next 20 years he turned down parole opportunities so that he could continue treatment for the control of his sexual urges. Finally, in September, psychiatrists and parole officials agreed that Leach's volatile nature had been curbed, and they allowed him to transfer out of prison to a Regina halfway house. But those involved in Leach's release had erred fatally. On Dec. 31, police found the battered, lifeless body of Jewel Judith Gunkler, a 26-year-old Regina prostitute, on an ice-covered street. And last month, in a Regina courtroom where he was sentenced to another life term for that murder, Leach delivered a brief statement that many residents would find horrifying enough: "I've had enough," the 40-year-old criminal glared. "Even if they offered me a million, I wouldn't take it." Now, across Canada, lawmakers are looking to have some sexual offenders jailed for longer periods—in the case of the most violent, until they die.

During meetings of the House of Commons justice committee last week, witnesses from all three major parties agreed that the federal Corrections and Conditional Release Act, which governs the terms of sentences and paroles, must be changed to give courts more power to ensure that sex offenders spend more of their sentences in prison, rather than as parole. Under the Criminal Code, judges can classify people as "dangerous offenders" and sentence to prison indefinitely if they have displayed a pattern of repeated violent behavior. But Crown attorneys rarely seek that designation because it is difficult to prove. Her last year, Solicitor General Douglas Lewis told Manitoba's chief justice that violent sex offenders stay in prison longer. Said Lewis: "I think the public is increasingly concerned about public safety."

Murder. And the issue of how to deal with potential and convicted sexual offenders divided even more bitterly last week when police said they would charge a married couple arrested in St. Catharines, Ont., with two counts of first-degree murder in the 1991 rape and dismemberment killing of Leslie Mahaffy, 34, of nearby Niagara, and the 1992 sex slaying of Kenneth Brinkley, 35, of St. Catharines. Paul Bernardo, 38, also faces 43 counts of sexual assault in a string of crimes in the Toronto area between 1983 and 1990 (page 32).

The widespread outrage of the current parole system has been



Leach (left); Fredenicks; courtesans' juries have three times in the last decade recommended locking compulsive offenders up for the rest of their lives

partly as a result of such crimes in the 1988 murder of 10-year-old Christopher Stephens of Brampton, Ont., at the hands of convicted child rapist Joseph Fredenicks, who had been released from prison under mandatory supervision only three months previously (page 24). On Jan. 22, a coroner's jury that spent five months examining the case recommended sweeping legal changes that would ensure that some habitual sex offenders spend the rest of their lives behind bars. At the same time, screaming sections of citizens' and victims' rights groups are lobbying for stricter sentencing and release conditions. One organization, Rape For Children's Rights, regularly organizes demonstrations in Kingston, Ont., whenever a violent sexual offender is about to be released from the federal penitentiary in that city. "State of these sexual predators are not being treated as prison," said Virginia Foster, the group's

president. "If they are labeled high-risk, the community should be told." That is precisely what law-enforcement officials in a growing number of cities across Canada have vowed to do. Last week, police in Durham Region, east of Toronto, released a photograph of David Paul Proulx, a convicted pedophile who was charged with sexual assault and abduction involving two young boys in 1991 and again 1993 while on probation. Durham regional police chief Trevor McGillicuddy said that he took the photo to protect the community in the event that Proulx succeeded in

obtaining bail. But on Thursday, as a dozen members of Proulx's group gathered outside an Ottawa courthouse, a judge denied Proulx's bid to be freed on bail.

Three weeks earlier, police in Peterborough, Ont., released a picture of David Cody Morgan, 46, a convicted pedophile who was about to be released. As a result, Morgan decided to accept the remaining three months of his sentence in Kingston Penitentiary. And in Ottawa, Police Chief Thomas Flanagan says that his force may soon begin to publicize the names and photographs of rapists and pedophiles who are freed in that area. Addressing the concern about the rights of freed prisoners, Flanagan said, "We would rather be sued by a pedophile than the parents of a dead child." Added Peterborough Police Chief Kevin McLimpie: "The issue of the offender's rights, versus society's right to be protected, is swinging back to the community."

Leading prosecutors and criminal trial lawyers, however, say that the new get-tough attitude means to legislators. Brian Gosselin, a Toronto criminal lawyer and chairman of the Canadian Council of Criminal Defence Lawyers' Association, said that public opinion is driving politicians to abandon the goal of rehabilitation in favor of retribution. "It's like medieval times," said Gosselin. "They want to brand the letter P [for prisoner] into their foreheads. Parliament is now front and center."

Ontario Attorney General Maurice Boyd also joined the choir last week on the sale of short-to-be released prisoners. Boyd said that the province may act to stop police from identifying offenders who have fulfilled their sentences but are viewed by police as potential risks to the public. "If we just continue to punish people again and again," he said, "we make it very difficult to re-integrate them into the community."

Similarly, some experts voice concern about the federal government's plan to tighten the rules that affect the release of sexual offenders. Howard Barbaree, director of the Sexual Behavior Clinic at Windsor's Institute for Sexual Health, says that if the new law takes effect, it will keep some offenders in prison indefinitely—possibly for decades. Said Barbaree: "When the political crowd heats up, the legislation could be used more frequently than intended."

Safety. Balancing the constitutional rights of dangerous offenders against the rights of society has confounded the Canadian justice system for decades. Still, on at least three occasions over the past decade, coroners' juries have recommended locking sexual offenders in for the rest of their lives up to the rest of their lives. The jury in the Stephens case, for example, made 71 recommendations designed to increase public safety. Said jury foreman David Nixon: "It's time for the pendulum to start swinging the other way."

The Stephens jury argued the National Parole Board and Correctional Services Canada, the branch of the justice department that oversees the country's 56 federal prisons, to adopt new standards that put the protection of society ahead of the need to uphold the rights of violent offenders. To accomplish that goal, the jury recommended that the federal government adopt legislation similar to a sexual predator law that has been in use in Washington state since 1990. That law gives authorities to keep offenders in prison longer and to monitor them after their release (page 32).

Although Lewis stops short of promising a wholesale adoption of the Washington law, he says that he is examining ways to modify some of the Stephens jury's recommendations. "I believe there is a gap in the system," said Lewis. "There are some offenders who cannot be treated." The minister added that Canadians want improved protection, even if it means that more violent offenders die in jail. Said Lewis: "I'm trying to correct an imbalance."

The five Conservatives, two Liberals and one New Democrat on the justice committee, however, may push Lewis to go farther. Dan Ostry, 46, who spent six of the last seven years in prison for sexual assault, said last week that the justice committee wants Ottawa to expand its definition of violence. In a recommendation sent to Lewis on Feb. 20, the

A RAPIST SPEAKS OUT

Paul, 42, from a small town outside Winnipeg, was sentenced in June 1980 to 7½ years in jail for sexual assault. He served a two-year program for sex offenders at Lockwood Institution in Stony Mountain, Man., and six months up transferred to a Winnipeg halfway house. He felt released in June 1982, less than two months. MacLennan's Associate Editor Dave Brady wrote: "I never had just what about the case that led him to jail and to a fear of repeating a similar act. Excerpt:

"I never really looked at women as human beings. I did vicious and cruel things with them. I could get away with it. I was a virgin until 18 and then I went wild.

"I picked up a girl in a bar and brought her back to my place. There something stopped. I did her up, choked her and threatened her with all sorts of sex trauma, like cutting her. I raped her four times and then dropped her off at home. It never seemed real. I denied it. I mean, who could hurt someone that bad? I know I had a hard time to tell the sheriff who had drafted me with another expert

in case he is not satisfied on. The expert you got general protection, but I chose to go into the general prison population.

"I wanted to stick it out there, and I did—the other inmates thought I was in for something. I was too scared to tell the truth. They hate doctors—that's what we're called—because it could happen to them and to our wives. You have better status, like you get through his head smashed with weights. When another guy admitted he was a shooter, they wrapped his body with toilet paper and set him on fire. He died.

"It's hard to admit you're a rapist. You sit with other sex offenders and start looking your eyes out. I've heard them describe things that would make you want. It's sick. That's why people hate us. But we have a problem.

"It's not like I was abused or anything. I'm from a middle-class Catholic family. I love my parents. I have no education. The never been to jail before. How could I be this craft to another human being? Why did I look someone worse than dogs? I still worry about getting out. There is too going to the group. I don't want to do this again.

"You know, I recently saw the girl that I raped. A couple of years ago, I would have run up to her and said, 'Well, I didn't rape you. You asked for it.' But I just said ashamed. I wanted to hide my head in my pocket and run away. I've ruined her life. I need help."

in the 1987 case had banned publication of his name to protect the victim's identity.

Publicizing the names of some sexual offenders also troubles Frederick Glover, chairman of the National Parole Board in Ottawa. Glover said that the 48 full-time members of the parole board, most of whom are political appointees, are aware of the new law but intend to resist it.



Frederick Glover, chairman of the National Parole Board, says he will resist the new law to curb sex offenders.

entering society to live wherever they choose. Glover also says that police forces may get regret the decision to name some previous sexual offenders. "God help them when they start doing that real, and they don't publish the name of the offender who then turns violent," he said.

In fact, the more possibility that sexual offenders would be named says already have led to a suicide in Ottawa. Police in the capital have threatened to release the names of sex offenders released into the area in the last four months. They included two rapists, a polygraph and three men convicted of violent crimes. One of the men, Ronald King, 38, who

was jailed for attempted murder, unlawful confinement and three charges of assault in 1984 for trying to murder his estranged wife and stabbing a neighbor during a house-taking, hanged himself earlier this month. According to lawyer Ronald Gertin, who is acting for King's family, there was a link between Flanagan's statements and his client's suicide. Gertin says that the family said the police that King feared being named. Said Gertin: "The police attitude is, 'So what if these guys tell themselves—society is better off without them.'"

At the same time, Greenaway says that he doubts that publicizing the names of offenders increases public security in the case of convicted polygraph Morphe, who decided to commit a prison after being told to stop. "The police are not in a position to be released. Greenaway questioned whether he was even dangerous. He added that once Morphe serves his full sentence he can move anywhere he wants, including back to Peterborough. "He would return at his own choosing," said Greenaway. "And they would not know that he was there."

Meanwhile, the debate over the treatment of sex offenders is taking on distinctly political overtones in the run-up to the next federal election, which must be held this year. Preston Manning, leader of the Conservative Reform Party of Canada, is pressing much of the campaign for the debate. After winning a successful bid for the No side in the Oct. 26 constitutional referendum, Manning began to play down the importance of such issues as Senate reform, while emphasizing the need for stronger law-and-order measures. If his party takes power, Manning says, he would organize a national referendum on capital



Flanagan's proposal to publicize names and photos

that repeat sexual offenders should be detained indefinitely upon release until they pose a reasonable risk of re-offending. And few would deny argue with Robert Leach's plea to spend the rest of his life in jail.

TOM FENNELL with GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa and RAL QUINN in Vancouver

A LAW TO CURB SEX OFFENDERS

The crime committed by Bill Sturmer on the spring of 1980 to charged local residents that the State of Wisconsin decided to change the rules. With a 25-year record of violence against young people, Sturmer, 42, had spent much of his life in prison and several institutions. In 1989, just released from prison after serving 30 years for assaulting children, he arrived in Tacoma and began patrolling local schools and parks with a locked wheel bus as his bicycle holding ropes, leashes and other instruments of torture. On May 30, Sturmer abducted a seven-year-old boy. After sexually assaulting him and attempting to murder the youngster, Sturmer cut off his penis and left him for dead. The outcry over the failure of the justice and mental health

system to protect the community from Sturmer led then-Governor David Gribble to strike a deal here to draft new offender laws for the state. Those laws, announced taking offenders as prison longer and to monitor them after their release were passed in March, 1990. They have been criticized almost on other jurisdictions, such as Canada, which are considering similar legislation. Says Sgt. Mike Miller of the Tacoma Police Herndon and Sex Assault Squad: "It has given the public a little more both in the police, as we are able to do some things that they see as previous."

Under the new laws, the maximum sentence for first-degree rape—satisfying sexual urges, abduction or use of a deadly weapon—has been reduced from five years to three. Those reduced from sentences for good behavior—automatically 33 per cent under the old laws—now just 25 per cent. And after their release from prison, all sex offenders have to register with the local county sheriff. As well, 10 days before an offender's release, prison authorities must

notify law enforcement, local police and the prosecutor. In some cases, police will go on their own initiative, turn to the media. "For a person like an Alvin Karpis, we really want the media to pick up on it—and we indicate their decency to get the word out," says Lou Pappas, spokesman for Seattle's chief of police. "For a person out only as dangerous, we go to the offenders' neighborhoods and walk directly on letting people know who they are and where they are living."

But the new laws have also drawn criticism for their effective use in Washington state. Released sex offenders are often reluctant to live in communities where they are going to attract publicity. Said Pappas: "Many will move out of state and that is the last I see of them." That might have saved Sturmer's Tacoma victim—who created a potential nightmare for parents elsewhere.

RAL QUINN in Vancouver

commenter wrote that men who handle children, but do not physically harm them, should be categorized as violent sexual offenders and liable for harsh sentences and much more restricted release conditions. Thomas Burrell, one of the Liberal MPs on the committee, pressed to have the category for violence expanded, arguing that abused children often suffer serious psychological harm. Said Lewis: "If they're on the right track, it means to me that finding a child may cause serious harm."

Depending on the definition of violent offenders to include those who cause psychological harm would have given implications for criminals such as Wray Burrell. A 48-year-old convicted sex offender, Burrell has a history of molesting children stretching back over 20 years. The National Parole Board announced late last year that it planned to release Burrell in Toronto. Noting that Burrell had never physically harmed a child—his convictions were limited to improper handling—the board argued to let him out of prison after he had served two-thirds of his current six-year sentence. The board reversed its decision in December after a public outcry, as a result, he will remain in jail until his sentence expires on Nov. 20, 1994.

Public concern about violence has already led Ottawa to tighten the rules governing how and when criminals are released from prison. Under the Corrections and Conditional Release Act, which came into effect on Nov. 1, a parole officer can order a violent offender to serve at least half of his sentence before serving a parole. Before, offenders had to serve a minimum of one-third of their sentences before being eligible for parole. The new law also added sexual offenders against children to the category of crimes for which offenders can be ordered to serve their entire sentence without parole. Previously, only repeat violent offenders could be ordered to serve out their entire sentences.

Pressure: Despite the concerns for public safety, some experts say that the attempt to contain residents of a community that a former sexual offender is in their midst may backfire. However, some clinic treats sexual offenders with drugs and aversive therapies, said that only a small number of the 168 sexual offenders who have been released from the clinic have gone on to commit similar crimes. But the rate of repeat offenses could increase if released offenders feel threatened by the targets of extensive public scrutiny and fear, he said. Deborah Barbaree, a psychologist, says the pressure they are under as a new when they should be building new lives for themselves."

Still, the move to identify sexual offenders appears to be spreading. In January, RCMP officials told local politicians in White Rock, B.C., that a child murderer, twice convicted of sexually molesting young boys, had moved with his family to the community. A former teacher, he was sentenced to 30 months in 1987 for sexually assaulting his pupils. Barbaree, he had admitted to dozens of incidents of child molestation. Asked a police officer, White Rock Mayor Gordon Hogg said provincial Attorney General Cecil Gidycz whether the man could be legally identified. The attorney general advised against the move, and noted that the judge

A TRAIL OF BRUTALITY

INVESTIGATION INTO A STRING OF RAPES AND KILLINGS LED POLICE TEAMS IN ONTARIO TO A YOUNG MAN ONCE KNOWN AS BOTH 'CARING' AND 'KIND'

She was still in high school when she met the tall, red-haired accountant who was six years her senior. And when Leslie Mahaffy, now 32, married Paul Bernardo in 1981, the wedding seemed like a fairy-tale romance. Under a bright full moon, a horse-drawn white carriage whisked the bride and groom—both striking young Canadians—from the church in the Ontario resort town of Niagara-on-the-Lake. But the fairy tale may have become a nightmare for Mahaffy, described by friends as a traditional small-town girl. Shortly after their post-Christmas, she was admitted to hospital after being beaten with a flashlight—an incident that led to sexual charges against Bernardo. Soon after, Mahaffy moved out of their attractive rented house in St. Catharines, on the southwest shore of Lake Ontario, and detectives came to question her as part of an ongoing investigation. Last week—three days after Mahaffy's 31st birthday—the results of that investigation led police to charge her estranged husband in what Metro Toronto police Sgt. Mike Sale called "the crime of the century."

In fact, Bernardo, 26, faces 33 charges in connection with a series of crimes—including two brutal kidnappings of teenage girls—dating back to 1983. He spent last week as his opponent in court in a black T-shirt and loose-fitting trousers, while Crown Attorney Mary Hall swore out 43 of the charges, which include nine counts of sexual assault with a weapon and five counts of sexual intercourse. Some of the allegations refer to a string of eight or more violent attacks by a suspect nicknamed "the Scarborough rapist" that took place in east-end Toronto between 1987 and 1990. This week, Bernardo is scheduled to be arraigned in court in St. Catharines for an additional 19 charges, including two counts of first-degree murder.

Nearly the most heinous of those crimes was the abduction of Kristina French, a 15-year-old who disappeared while walking home from St. Catharines high school in a cold rain on April 16, 1992. French's parents kept her alive for 13 days, exposed her and strangled her. Afterwards, they released



JUNE 15, 1991

Leslie Mahaffy, 14, disappears near her family's home in Burlington, Ont. Her dismembered remains are later found encased in pieces of concrete in a nearby reservoir.

APRIL 16, 1992

An unknown assailant, later reported to be driving a cream-colored Camaro, abducts 15-year-old Kristina French as she walks home from school in St. Catharines, Ont.

"Drowner" by classmates, French was found dead in a dump site in nearby Burlington, Ont., two weeks after she disappeared. Her slender body lay on its back, her long hair and left leg male body in a fetal position. Last week, the victim's mother appeared relieved after hearing of the arrest. Said Donna French: "I've been expecting this for 30 months."

During that painful period, a task force of 40 officers from the Niagara Regional Police force interviewed 1,500 suspects. And at a Toronto news conference the day after Bernardo's arrest, Insp. Vance Brown said that his team plans to arrest at least one other suspect in the abduction. Brown also said that Bernardo would be charged with murdering Leslie Mahaffy, a 14-year-old Grade 8 student from Burlington, whose dismembered body was found in pieces of concrete in a reservoir near St. Catharines in June, 1991—the month that Bernardo married Mahaffy. The detective declined to answer questions about Bernardo's wife—who worked as a restaurant's assistant—and whether she was co-operating with the investigation, specifically that he knew where she was. Last last week, Bernardo's lawyer, Barry Fox, said that his client would plead not guilty to the current charges, and any future ones.

Bernardo first came to the attention of police in November, 1990, when he was questioned in a



APRIL 30, 1992

French's body is found near a wooded ditch in Burlington, hunched in a fetal position. Her long brown hair shorn.



FEB. 17, 1993 Police arrest Paul Bernardo, 26, a married accountant, at his rented home in St. Catharines, Ont.

suspect in the Scarborough rapes. He was living at his parents' home at the time; in the prosperous Scarborough neighborhood where he grew up today. Bernardo, AB at his schools—from kindergarten to university—was within walking distance of that two-story home. Grades went important to Bernardo, and he was a bright student who skipped a year of school. In high school, he described himself as a "nerd," and bought a white Mustang with his earnings from a job as a waiter at a local restaurant. The captain of his grade ten physics in his 1985 yearbook says that his analysis was to become rich and famous so he could move to California and "check out the girls on the beach."

Indeed, Bernardo stayed in his parents' home. He attended classes at the Scarborough campus of the University of Toronto and earned a B.A. in 1987. He wanted to be an accountant, just like his father, Kenneth, and got a job with Price Waterhouse later that year. But he left the firm at the end of 1989 and moved to St. Catharines in early 1991. Neighbors say that Bernardo told them he was a self-employed chartered accountant, but last April the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Ontario de-registered him as an acting accountant because he had failed to pay his annual dues.

Ironically, Bernardo is not the first person in his family to experience a break with the law. On Feb. 6, his 57-year-old father was convicted of unrelated charges in Scarborough. There is a publication ban on the details of the case, but the elder Bernardo will appear for sentencing on Mar. 2 in the same courtroom where his son Paul will have his bail hearing on the same day. Asked how he felt about the prospect of both his husband and son ending up in jail, Marilyn Bernardo told The Toronto Star, "I will end up as a psychiatric ward." Meanwhile, Paul Bernardo's

first girlfriend publicly came to his defense a day after he was taken into custody, declaring that police must have arrested the wrong man. Said Nadine Bennett, 26, who dated Bernardo a year when they were both 16: "He was the least pretty guy I have sexually, and he was very caring and kind." Added Bernice Bennett, who lives across the street from Bernardo's parents: "He was the kind of guy most mothers would be quite pleased to see their daughters bring home. If your car got stuck in the snow and he was not there, he was always willing to help you."

That profile stands in stark contrast to the nature of the charges that Bernardo now has to answer. Although his former bride remained in bed last week, the sudden flare of events clearly upset her family and close friends. They expressed a strong silence as reporters besieged them with questions about Mahaffy, her doomed marriage and her husband.

PAUL KRAMER



FEB. 19, 1993

Niagara Regional police announce that Bernardo will face eight charges in connection with the brutal killings of Mahaffy and French, as well as two counts of sexual assault stemming from unrelated incidents in St. Catharines in 1981 and 1982.



MAY 27, 1990

Metro Toronto police issue a composite sketch of a man wanted for questioning in connection with at least eight sexual assaults over a three-year period.



FEB. 18, 1993 Bernardo appears in a Toronto court to face 43 charges relating to sexual assaults in Metro Toronto.

ONE FAMILY'S NIGHTMARE

A VICTIM'S PARENTS DEMAND CHANGES

Not as the fox goes out
I fear no doubt
of the mischief and Love
throughout our house

—From the poem *The Fire* by
Christopher Stappleson

Even in its age-misled random violence, Christopher Stappleson's death held a special terror. On a Friday evening in June, 1994, the frail, freewheeling 11-year-old went sleeping with his mother, Ann, in a small apartment, Ont., just west of Toronto. As Christopher waited outside for her to finish her purchases, he was accosted by Joseph Fredericks, a convicted child rapist on parole. Fredericks, then 45, who had spent most of his life in prison and mental hospitals, was taken to a mental hospital. Fredericks raped him there, then took Christopher to his basement apartment where he raped his again and strangled him before shoving him to death in a nearby field. But the crime did not become just another sad statistic. His brown eyes now peer from thousands of badges and posters across the country. The size of that, the charge, started by Christopher's parents, to force politicians to tighten the rules that sometimes allow psychopaths to kill like Fredericks to walk free. "We hope that something will come of it," says James Stappleson. "The price that had to be paid was just too high."

Following Christopher's murder and Fredericks's subsequent trial, the Stapplesons launched a \$1.8-million civil suit against the federal government. In the suit, which is still being contested, the Stapplesons claim that Corrections Canada officials were negligent because they released Fredericks from jail knowing that he would attack again. As well, in an attempt to expose the truth surrounding their son's murder, the Stapplesons hired their own lawyer, Timothy Denon of Toronto, to cross-examine witnesses at a five-month-long coroner's inquest last year into the murder. In January, the jury produced 71 recommendations on how Canada's justice and corrections systems should be changed to protect society from violent sexual predators like Fredericks. And jury members subsequently urged both Ottawa and the Ontario government, which prosecuted Fredericks, to pay the Stapplesons' \$180,000 legal bill. Says Gary Rosenfeld, executive director of the Ottawa-based Victim of Violence International: "If we pay the coronal's lawyers we should have to pay the victim's."



James, Anna Stappleson; Christopher (below): struggle

So far, both governments have turned down the recommendations, claiming that a Crown attorney adequately represented the Stapplesons' interests at the inquest. But thousands of Canadians, clearly touched by the poster and button campaign launched by the family in September, have sent the Stapplesons letters of support as well as money to help pay their legal bills. "We had no idea that the public would be this generous," says Stappleson. "We touched a raw nerve." To date, the family has raised nearly \$125,000, while the widespread support for the Stapplesons' family may be forcing the federal government, which has promised to implement many of the recommendations of the inquiry, to reconsider its position on compensation.

Brian McLean, legislative assistant to Solicitor General Doug Lewis, said last week that the "door is still open to negotiation."

Carroll: Pressure has also been brought to bear on the government from other sources. On Feb. 16, three members of the corner jury took the unusual step of holding a news conference to declare that they could not have remembered their eyewitnesses without Denon's careful cross-examination of witnesses. Stappleson added that he and his wife had little choice but to hire their own lawyer. "We didn't believe that the government should be investigating itself," he says.

Fredericks, who received a 25-year prison sentence in December, 1993, for Christopher's murder, was killed on Jan. 3, 1995, by another inmate at the Kingston Penitentiary. The Stapplesons, meanwhile, are still trying to come to terms with their son's death. Only recently, they packed up Christopher's belongings and put them into storage, allowing their daughter Amanda, 15, to move into her brother's room. "We found it very difficult to change his room," Stappleson says. "We left a pretty much as it was for years." Were it not for Amanda, he notes, their situation could have been much worse. "It would not have been very difficult for us to be captured in the past," Stappleson says. "But when you have another child you realize that life must go on." Meanwhile, they continue their painful struggle against Canada's parole laws. Adds Stappleson: "Something positive has to come out of this sad worst-case."

TOM FERRIS

SUZUKI ANNOUNCES A ROADSIDE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR PEOPLE WHO DON'T LIKE TRAVELLING ALONE.

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COVER

GOOD TOUCH, BAD TOUCH

HOW TO GUARD AGAINST SEX ABUSE

Over the past decade, parents, teachers and youth workers have instructed their efforts to protect children from sexual assault and to prevent sexually abusive behavior as possible. Counseling, teaching materials and community programs now offer sound advice on reducing the risk of sexual assault. A checklist of some of the key steps that parents can help protect their children—and uncover tendencies of abusers

adults known to the child. Such abusers frequently use flattery, bribery and threats to coerce vulnerable children, whose emotional needs may not be met by their families. Psychologists and social workers emphasize that children require a solid sense of self-worth to help them make difficult judgments about confusing adult behavior. A consistent pattern of positive reinforcement by parents is an important element in strengthening a child's emotional security. "Research suggests that abuse prevention programs work much better for kids with self-esteem," says Leslie Tutty, assistant professor of social work at the Uni-

Vancouver Grade 3 class: a sense of self-worth can help kids resist attack

versity of Calgary. "Such children are able to trust their own feelings and to tell an adult if they have an idea a problem—or to be assertive and tell someone else if they are not believed."

JUST SAY NO

Many experts recommend that children be taught the differences between appropriate and inappropriate touching. Several programs across the country use plays, puppet shows or illustrated materials to teach children about the parts of the body, their right to refuse physical contact—and what to do if an adult attempts to touch them in uncomfortable ways. Eugene Sumlin Mulligan, executive director of a Hamilton, Ont.-area community child-abuse council, "Re-do a disclosure to us in which we do not act on them with the information they need."

UNDERSTAND A CHILD'S WORLD

Many parents sometimes fail to see the physical world from their child's perspective. Experts recommend that parents try their neighborhoods, identifying places such as parks, vacant

lots, empty buildings and wooded areas where children may be more vulnerable to sexual abuse. "Children need to know the difference between the policemen and the man in the car with a puppy. They should be instructed to say no to such people and to go to a safe place and tell someone."

PLAYING 'WHAT IF?'

Because children often do not understand—or they forget—adult explanations and instructions, many experts recommend that parents participate in role playing games with their children, using questions that begin with "What if?" Issues could include a wide range of situations, such as someone touching up adults, the offer of candies or other gifts in exchange for such touching or rewards to keep secrets between an adult and a child's secret. Children often need to be assured that sometimes it might be impossible to prevent becoming a victim of abuse, and that if it occurs it is not their fault. Says Tutty: "Kids are egocentric and tend to self-blame, so it is important to stress the opposite."

STRANGER AWARENESS

Many children are reluctant to talk about being abused, frequently because of their tendency to blame themselves. They may also fear retribution from the abuser if they speak out. In the event of abuse, however, it is likely that the child's everyday behavior will undergo marked changes. Although sleep and eating patterns may be disrupted, the clearest indicator that abuse has occurred is a child's acting out of sexual behavior that is not consistent with her age. Children should be questioned in a calm, clear and straightforward way. Parents should not show excessive worry—if they do, a

BE AWARE OF THE SIGNS OF ABUSE

child may not reveal what has happened for fear of worrying parents even more. It is often necessary to persist in the line of questioning for lack of response and, in the case of small children, to use acting-out games to get at the truth.

child may not reveal what has happened for fear of worrying parents even more. It is often necessary to persist in the line of questioning for lack of response and, in the case of small children, to use acting-out games to get at the truth.

WHAT TO DO IF ABUSE OCCURS

Children should be told that they have done the right thing by reporting the actions—and that they have nothing to fear from adults. They should also be reassured that they will be protected from further sexual abuse and that the blame lies entirely with the abuser. Parents should report incidents to the police or child protection agencies because many abusers are repeat offenders, prompt action may help to protect others. Medical attention may also be necessary, as well as counseling.

REPEAT THE LESSONS

Experts point out that close, continuing involvement by parents often makes a critical difference in helping a child avoid sexual assault. Says John Francis, a psychologist with the child abuse program at the Alberta Children's Hospital in Calgary: "Parents are among the best if they think that a one-hour street-peddling program at age five is going to protect their child." Frequent review is essential. Parents also caution that parents should always shoulder the responsibility for protecting their children, never transferring it to the child. Said Francis: "Kids may know what to do, but they may not be able to do it under physical and emotional pressure from a much larger person." According to Francis and many other experts, the most effective abuse prevention program is no substitute for the never-ending vigilance that only parents, or their surrogates, provide. □

'BEYOND THE EDGE OF EVIL'

In Britain, a country with one of the world's lowest homicide rates, almost any murder warrants attention. But Britain reacted with particular shock and revulsion last week to the brutal death of two-year-old James Bulger.

On Feb. 12, Bulger became momentarily separated from his mother at a Liverpool shopping mall. Five minutes later, according to a videotape recorded by a security camera, he led the multi-handed boy who looked no older than 13. Then, another security camera at a nearby construction site, captured a dark, forbidding image: Two eerily tiny figures (Bulger and his partner, a boy named Robert Thompson) dragging him by the arm. Two days later, the toddler's body was found on a railway embankment. Police said that he had been brutally assaulted, that killed before being

thrown in front of an oncoming train. At day's end, the boy's interlocked with a police announcement that two 10-year-olds had been charged with the abduction and murder of James Bulger and the attempted kidnapping of another two-year-old boy.

Bulger's death, and the suspected involvement of children, sparked intense reactions. In such a crime, former home secretary Kenneth Baker declared, "You are beyond the edge of evil—you are into the heart of darkness." That reaction was shared by many others. "It's all I hear on the street," British Justice Minister at Merseyside Police Headquarters said. Liverpool, told Maclean's: "People are absolutely shocked and amazed that this could happen." The two boys—10 and the minimum age at which children can face criminal charges in Britain—are probably the youngest British juvenile murder duo this century, according to a prisoners'-rights group.

Lawrence public interest in the case it never had generated more than 100 calls an hour to a

special police hotline. The chat broke through even the TV show *Crimewatch UK*, and released photos from the security cameras. At one stage, an eerily crowd packed and showed three snapshots as police detained them.

Later in the week, in about 100 people gathered a memorial service for the victim and people placed piles of flowers at the mall where he was seized, police questioned the 10-year-olds in what one detective described as a "brilliant, subtle" process—apparently past periods for the children, held in separate locations, with parent or guardian present. At trial, prosecutors must prove that the boys were aware that what they did was wrong. *Maclean's* in Liverpool says high school young mother, child's brother and sister, James Bulger was taken. "These two boys—whatever happens to them will be too good."

DAVID FRADY

SELLING SACRIFICE

BILL CLINTON HITS THE ROAD TO ASK AMERICANS TO SHARE THE BURDEN OF TAX HIKES

The president's approval and standing remains. President Bill Clinton unveiled his eagerly awaited economic blueprint, titled "A New Direction," before a joint session of Congress last week. "It has been too long—at least three decades—since a president has challenged Americans to join him on our great national journey," Clinton said, reviving former president John F. Kennedy's call to national service in 1961, "not merely to consume the bounty of today but to invest for a much greater one tomorrow." And, in his four-hour speech, punctuated by 75 extended applause, Clinton asked Americans to embrace tough measures designed to revitalize the flailing U.S. economy and put the country's fiscal house in order. Pledging in fact that the burden of sacrifice would be fairly shared, the President declared: "The test of our progress cannot simply be: What is out for me? It has to be: What is in it for us?"

On that stirring note, Clinton mobilized the fledgling Democratic administration to sell his tough package, calculated at \$114 billion in tax increases and \$319 billion in spending cuts. The substantial plan, he argued, would only reduce the \$397 billion budget deficit but also stimulate much-needed long-term investment. As well, Clinton promised, it would get people back to work by creating half a million jobs this year.

But as the President heralded his program as a new beginning for America, his Republican opponents lambasted it as nothing more than a repeat of the too-long and liberal Democratic policies from the past. And in Ottawa, where the federal government faces a stubborn budget

deficit currently standing at more than \$24 billion, politicians of all stripes stashed Clinton's initiative for days about how to deal with Canada's economic problems in an election season.

Finance Minister Don Mazankowski claimed that Clinton's attack on the deficit was similar to the Conservative government's economic agenda—much over major divergence. "He is on the right track," said Mazankowski. "The only difference is that he thinks he can tax his way out of this particular situation." Added the finance minister: "We've got to try to reduce government spending further still." Liberal trade critic Roy MacLaren, who chairs his party's own committee on economic policy, also questioned whether tax increases are realistic in the Canadian context. "The combined provincial and federal income taxes in Canada today are higher than most nations that they are in the United States," he said. "Canada has moved to tax the Canadian people to the utmost—I don't think there's very much more left there."

As for the New Democrats, leader Anthony MacLachlan chose last week to avoid her party's own economic blueprint. "The plan includes scrapping the 28 and five trade, creating 500,000 jobs over five years and spending \$1.5 billion annually over the same period on projects such as sewers, roads and infrastructure improvements, while raising both corporate taxes and income taxes on those who make more than \$100,000 a year," the government says. The trade-offs are in place, she just have to wait and see if it works out. "We are saying, 'We need new leadership!'"

MacLachlan noted that Clinton's message was also one of change. But the U.S. President will face a tough battle to get congressional approval for an economic package that includes politically sensitive tax increases such as a

proposed energy tax. So far, his appeal for sacrifice seems to be resonating with Americans. In an exit news poll, 74 per cent of those surveyed approved of the President's tough measures, while only 14 per cent disapproved. And Clinton, who had briefly pondered confederate Ross Perot in retirement, won unanimous support from the Dallas billionaire, whose campaign promises of fiscal responsibility was him 19 per cent of the popular vote in the November election. "It was a good speech," Perot said after Clinton's address to Congress. But, he added: "The devil is always in the details."

While supporters of the "New Deal" that Clinton's plan was similar to Perot's, they expressed concern that its spending cuts may not be deep enough. "My fear is that they're going to keep raising taxes without cutting

anything back," and Peggy Bell of Richardson, Tex. "I really want to see some steady cuts." And Perot representative Sharon Robinson said that if Clinton's spending cuts prove sufficient, "we want to work with [the President] to get this through Congress—we can provide the support he needs."

Clinton was leaving nothing to chance as he attempted to show that his package was balanced. Armed with blue-and-white budget booklets, color flip charts and pie graphs, he and key members of his administration, fanned out across the country to deliver the details to the American people. The thrust of the tax hikes, they explained, would be to force businesses and by wealthy Americans earning more

than \$147,000 a year (page 28). Still, a new energy tax would hit any family earning at least \$36,000—including the middle class, whose taxes Clinton promised to cut during the campaign. Help under that income level would Americans be eligible for a tax credit to recoup the average \$25-a-month energy tax on electricity, gasoline and home-heating bills.

In addition to the tax increases, Clinton announced that he would slash military expenditures by \$14 billion over four years and trim 150 civil projects ranging from the \$39 billion space station to agricultural subsidies for farm producers. And responding to populist sentiment, Clinton pledged to freeze all federal government salaries and restrict the payments

World Notes

AN AID DISPUTE

United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali overruled his high commissioner for refugees, Sadako Ogata, and ordered the resumption of relief operations in most parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ogata had suspended the aid because of political interference by the warring factions. She had ordered UN-aided convoys—prevented by Serb soldiers from reaching besieged Muslims in eastern Bosnia—back to base. She also criticized Bosnia's Muslim-led government for hoarding aid distribution in Sarajevo in solidarity with Muslims outside the capital who are receiving no aid.

A LEADER FOR SLOVENIA

The Slovak parliament elected economist Michal Kováč, 62, as the newly independent republic's first president. Kováč is deputy chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, the party whose campaign for Slovak independence he led. Czechoslovakia's pact days into independence on Jan. 1. Last month, former diplomat Václav Havel became president of the Czech Republic.

FREE AT LAST

Chinese laborer Fuxi released student leader Wang Dun, 33, imprisoned since the 1986 Tiananmen Square massacre of pro-democracy demonstrators. Western human rights groups estimate that more than 31,000 people were arrested after the 1989 protests and that thousands are still in jail.

SHARING POWER

Following a three-day policy meeting, the African National Congress agreed to a government of national unity in South Africa to include the white-minority far-right National Party. The coalition will be a coalition of five years after non-racial elections. An ANC statement said that all parties in elections for a constituent assembly receiving more than five per cent of the vote should be represented in the national assembly government. President F. W. de Klerk wants elections early next year, but the ANC is pressing for a vote before the end of this year.

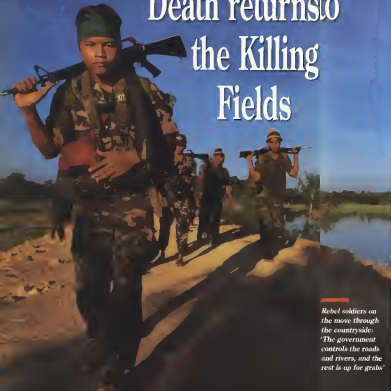
DISASTER AT SEA

Port officials in Spain said that as many as 2,000 people may have died when an ocean liner capsized about 60 miles west of the capital, Puerto Rico, during a nightmare storm. Rescuers found fewer than 200 survivors, many of whom floated for 12 hours before being spotted. There were conflicting reports of how many people were on the ship, overcrowded ferry, *Negra*, when it went down.



Clinton at Washington public works after beginning a "great national journey"

Death returns to the Killing Fields



Rebel soldiers on the move through the countryside: 'The government controls the roads and rivers, and the rest is up for grabs'

After two decades of war and repression, Cambodia is now a member of the United Nations. This week, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall was to visit the 213 Cambodian troops who are part of the 22,000-member force now running the country until a new government is elected in May. But the UN mission is floundering, unable to forcibly stop the factional fighting and rampant corruption and piracy the country's National Front for the Liberation of Cambodia recently visited.

He had been dead for several days when the soldiers found "Lam-bach Loua" east of Cambodia's muddy Mekong River. That hour United Nations observers did not know the real name of the adult Cambodian male whose rigid corpse they carried and thrust to pull from the water into their patrol boat and thus onto the dock in the provincial town of Kampong Cham in January. But they could tell that his death was neither a military nor an accident. What killed Loua was a bullet, fired from close range, which had entered through his left eye and into his brain. Loua's body was scooped from a heaving, his hands still set behind his back in the dry season in Cambodia and the killing has resumed.

Very little rain falls on the southwest Asian country in January and February, and the dry weather makes Cambodia more fit for fighting. The passage of seasons is marked by a dramatic drop in the level of the Mekong, which allows for a still, shallow waterway allowing for vegetable gardens to be planted on its exposed river bed. Waterlogged roads in the countryside turn hard and dusty, making them passable again. It is in dry that helicopter pilots like Loua can spot and target fires burning out every day as he flies over Cambodia's landscape of thick jungle and scrubland plains. "The terrain is reminiscent of northern Alberta," said Loua, a 28-year-old from Southern, B.C., who has been hired to transport UN soldiers and officials around the country. Loua flies at 5,000 feet—above the haze from the fires and out of the range of snipers on the ground. "You could get rich fighting fires out here," he said, "if you could find anyone brave enough to get out of the helicopters."

As feared by the commentators, the dry season brought on a renewal of the artillery exchanges and guerrilla attacks now so familiar to the once calm people of the deep, forested country. Since 1978, Cambodia has been torn apart by a series of coups, foreign invasions, a marauding government campaign that wiped out nearly all the population and, finally, a 13-year-long civil war. The war goes on, despite a peace agreement that Cambodia's four warring factions signed in Paris in 1991. Supervising the truce is the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, known as UNTAC, the UN's most ambitious peacekeeping mission ever.

The Paris agreement leaves Cambodia sovereignty in the hands of the Supreme National Council, (SNC) comprised of representatives from all four factions and chaired by Prince Norodom Ranariddh, the country's aristocratic but once-popular former head of state. But the SNC has ousted most of the powers needed to run the

country to UNTAC. It is UNTAC that has registered 4.7 million Cambodians to vote and is preparing to supervise the May election, which, it promises, must be "free and fair." And it is UNTAC that has undertaken to sweep the countryside of land mines and has expelled the refugee camps on the Thai border, returning 375,000 Cambodians—or at least near—their original homes and villages to the UN.

But UNTAC has also brought its own chaos to Cambodia, especially in the capital of Phnom Penh. With each of its soldiers and observers earning \$180 every day, they have created a booming, though largely artificial, economy. Another army of business people—from white-collar Malaysians to barbers in handshakes of Vietnamese prostitutes known locally as "sex girls"—has followed the United Nations into Cambodia in pursuit of that money. Meanwhile, many Cambodians have become fearful of UNTAC, which has been unable to stop the widespread submission of politicians and prominent extortion of money from private citizens, much of it by government soldiers.

Most observers expect the election to produce a government headed by Ranariddh's son, Prince Norodom Ranariddh, likely in coalition with other groups. But although the United Nations is determined to hold the election, the political atmosphere is anything but free and fair. "I cannot say that the government is politically neutral," said Theophane Neth, 49, a Lower Cameroonian, N.E., native who is the senior electoral official in Cambodia's largest province, Kampong Cham. "People are not free to express themselves without fearing for their lives."

Pre-election violence intensified in recent weeks as it became apparent that Ranariddh's two most heavily armed factions will win power in May. One is the Khmer Rouge, the party led by Maoist-inspired, Burmese-educated leaders that systematically murdered an estimated 1.5 million Cambodians during the 1978-1979 regime of terror portrayed in the 1984 movie *The Killing Fields*. Now, the Khmer Rouge has reneged on its promise to participate in the election. From their sanctuaries in remote regions near the Thai and Laotian borders, where they survive by illegally selling off forest cutting and gun-running rights to neighboring Thailand and Laos, the Khmer Rouge rebels still terrorize Cambodian villages under government control. Meanwhile, the Vietnamese-installed Communist government, which toppled the Khmer Rouge in 1979, grows more and more desperate at the prospect of losing power. It has stepped up its administration of political repression, launched its recent offensive against the Khmer Rouge and continues to run a blind eye to the forced extraction of money from civilians by its soldiers.

The UN observers record as many of those violations of the Paris agreement as possible. But without arms, they are powerless to compel the factions to stop fighting. And these UN civilian police who do carry weapons are usually outmaneuvered by other UN officials—for their strenuous unwillingness to arrest criminals and enforce orders. "We are the United Nations Transitional Authority, without the authority," said one unhappy British military observer in the town of Kratie,

DESPITE A
TRUCE,
FEAR STILL
STALKS
CAMBODIA'S
SCARRED
LANDSCAPE



SPIRAL OF DEATH

Throughout its history, Cambodia has endured centuries of war and conflict against Thai and Vietnamese enemies. It was under the promise of a silent form of annihilation that France imposed a protectorate over Cambodia in 1953. Some key dates in recent history:

• 1953: Cambodia became an independent kingdom

125 miles upriver from Phnom Penh. "The Cambodians are contemptuous of us."

The United Nations should not be surprised that its policy of putting racial tension ahead of ethnic tensions has inspired anger among Cambodians. The behavior of Cambodian soldiers as they guard the cities, "it is a sign of how deep, how dark, the war is," the sign is showing respect."

Phnom Penh looks as good as can be expected after 13 years of civil war, decay and neglect. It still shows off beautiful mansions, most now under renovation or repair, and some are being used for housing or offices. The walls of putrid garbage that lined its graceful boulevards are finally being bulldozed and collected, thanks in large part to a fleet of green garbage trucks donated by the mayor of Paris. A bombed-out bridge, which began in the city but ends with a winding highway across the Taek Say River, is being rebuilt by Japanese military engineers. And, supported on the front wall of the Royal Palace is an enormous portrait of a smiling dark-haired Sihanouk, frozen forever as a young man—reversing the fact that the former monarch is now a frail and aging 70-year-old.

Amid the cacophony of diesel-driven reconstruction and loudspeakers blaring street-corner jingo songs, Phnom Penh's mood is no longer somber. Smiling children and mothers

stake out to "hello, hello" to visitors in the only English army of these times—although one young boy persists in the greeting of Australian peacekeepers with a cheery "Hi, my, mate." The streets are busy again, even though the city has less than a dozen functioning traffic lights. White 'n' Land Rovers and luxury Peugeot sedans jostle for the right-of-way with bicycles and rickshaws in a traffic nightmare that regards sticking to lanes and following directions as a mere option. The current traffic is a long way from April 1975, when the Khmer Rouge, heavily armed, the city of millions in an attempt to create an agrarian utopia, leaving "nothing to be seen as Phnom Penh but the mass," as tourism-hampering Ock Sphar put it, resulting in her forced eviction from the capital.

Now, the Communist regime is coming to a soft-pedaling state. Few markets and Western culture Cambodia has welcomed foreign investment in businesses from aid organizations to hotels, and the government has granted licenses to 41 hotels—even though there are not yet any working airplanes. Sent Lee Yin Leung, the Malaysian director of the Cambodia Asia South East "Cambodia is the last frontier where almost anyone can open a bank and make it grow." The boom is illustrated by Phnom Penh's recovering market, called Cao

sona, to the European music and military of the Belvoir-owned Café No Problem.

In a country that endured a 12.5 carpet-bombing campaign from 1969 to 1973, there is a surprising embrace of American pop culture. Phnom Penh has its own version of McDonald's called Maclean's, complete with uniformly striped-shirted employees, check-cashing and chicken nuggets. A locally owned bank counter, the Star, is decorated with Buddhist prayer wheels and signs promising "Joy To Your World" and "You Can Have It Here." The city even has an own congregation of the Assembly of God Church, best-known for its anime telepresence leader, Rev. Jeremy Swagart.

Yet, while they are willing to absorb foreign influence, many Cambodians make it clear that they could do without the foreigners themselves. The presence of Japan's military engineers makes a return to the Japanese to a country that they occupied during the Second World War. And many Cambodians expected that

USAC would end the flow of ethnic Vietnamese, some of them having lived in Cambodia during for several years. Instead, they now know USAC for the hundreds of Vietnamese prostitutes who have poured into the country in the last year.

Anger that the Vietnamese have not been fairly expelled has led to the Khmer Rouge, which employs harsh anti-Vietnamese rhetoric. "The United Nations has done nothing to stop the feeling that the country is slowly but surely being taken over by the Vietnamese," said John Collins, a Golden-Born Khmer Rouge, who was Prime Minister of the private secretary for U.S. until 1993. "This is unfortunate, but there will be no anti-Vietnamese explosion here," he warned. So far, ethnic officials have refused to respond to those threats. But their reaction is derided by Cambodians, who have composed a short description of how a UNCTD soldier usually spends his day. It begins in the Khmer language and translates: "In the morning he gets up, in the afternoon he drives, in the evening he drinks."

But disdain for the United Nations is most palpable in the countryside. Route 6 is a two-lane road with side-by-side parking that leads northwest from Phnom Penh into the last province of Kampong Cham. In Cambodia, and one long-serving foreign aid worker, "The government controls the roads and the rivers, and the

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rest of us go to prison." On Route 6, that power is feared by governmental soldiers looting often and feared (perhaps) grenade launchers, which are used to extract money from passing cars at the tiny checkpoints. In one incident in December, a group of British soldiers driving a UN-marked vehicle along Route 6 was warning to clear a checkpoint when a car carrying three Cambodians ran the roadblock, giving the other two Government soldiers killed the driver a burst of gunfire, then pulled the passengers from the car. With the UN soldiers watching helplessly, the soldiers told the Cambodians to lie on the

contribute to a land that will impoverish Cambodia's accident victims and their families. Many Cambodians blame UNTAC for the burning and looting, with some cause. UN doctors reported treating 556 cases of sexually transmitted diseases in October alone, and another 638 in November. The United Nations has also been slow to pay salaries to its locally hired electoral officials at what it owed some of them.

For their part, UN soldiers complain that it is impossible to police a society with such en-

gines are home again and economic reconstruction has reshaped Cambodia to the point that tourists are making back. But grafting democracy onto a country, where for so long only the dead survived, is proving difficult. "Democracy is still a Western concept," said Canadian's Nott from his balcony in Kampong Cham as a funeral procession passed by below. "It will take a few generations before these people can master it and adapt it to the realities of Cambodia."

The good intentions of the international diplomats who crafted UNTAC at a conference table in

Paris collide with Cambodia's realities in small, remote villages like Rong, a market town near the Thai border. Weekly battles between government troops and the Khmer Rouge have created a new generation of refugees, who can be seen living along the national road that leads into town. There have been two grenade attacks on the local office of the Khmer Rouge party led by Prince Ranariddh and, in early February, six of his party's officials were arrested by government soldiers. Local UN officials fear that the violence will worsen as the election approaches. "The atmosphere is pretty unstable," observed Australian Stuart Nasser, as he sipped a beer in a small restaurant, while two soldiers at the next table set down their weapons and poured themselves tall glasses of local whiskey. Nasser said that if the prospect of violence became too great, he would recommend just postponing the election. "It is not about to rule the best of Cambodia for the greater glory of the United Nations," he said.

Most people expect the election to proceed, whatever the odds, because the United Nations has invested its reputation in what is an expected \$2.5 billion in Cambodia. Soldiers and election officials continue to arrive in the country imbued with optimism. "We will leave here knowing that we have made Cambodia a better place than we found it," Canadian naval Lt. John Winkler, 28, wrote home to friends in Ottawa, two weeks after arriving in Phnom Penh in January. But that spirit keeps running up against more realistic assessments. "Cambodia has no faith in the elections," said Genia Thun, 26, whose family fled to Australia to escape the Khmer Rouge in 1975 but returned in December last year. "Discipline believes that life will be exactly the same after so it always was." And last week, the six observers in Kampong Cham pulled the body of another unidentified Cambodian from the Mekong. He was said to have had his head cut through the temple O.



Cleaning up in Phnom Penh: from communism to garish nightclubs and American pop culture

present, then summarily executed them. Such events have clipped away at the UN's credibility. Every hint that looting the river, every car on the highway, is a target for marauding soldiers appearing with their own protection rockets. UNTAC soldiers and police units warnings but cannot stop the practice, and most Cambodians, intimidated by the soldiers, are reluctant to cooperate in any investigation. Said one British soldier: "It is hard for us to convince people that it's worth risking a bullet in the head to report a crime." In early February, after a one-legged passenger was shot as he stumped down the railway at a ferry on the Mekong, several boat captains told the United Nations that they would begin jettisoning weapons of their own on board to defend themselves.

But UNTAC's struggle has also been tarnished by the "bushy" behavior of some soldiers. Random driving has caused some accidents that UNTAC officials have asked soldiers to

prevent. Inlets of corruption. "The violence here has nothing to do with taking territory or fighting any class," said James Macgregor, a Canadian observer from Balibo, as he and a Royal Navy colleague shopped up the Mekong in an inflatable Zodiac on their way to investigate another robbery. "It is all about greed, and who gets to stand from it."

The United Nations was prepared for nothing problems in a mission that has to turn the armies of 30 countries—argued by language barriers and unfamiliar military cultures—into a unified force. In a pep talk to soldiers and bureaucrats in UNTAC's core headquarters in Phnom Penh, outgoing under-secretary for peacekeeping Marnock Gouding described the job of raising an entire country as "pioneering." But he warned that "the violence is taking at the United Nations and this mission is not in line."

Clearly, UNTAC has had some success. Re-

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WE APPLIED THE BRAKES TO HELP IT ACCELERATE. (ORIGINAL CONCEPTORS: SUFFICIENTLY POWERFUL. IMPROVED. BUT UNUSUAL. FROM BOMBING. BOMBING. BOMBING. OF SUPERIOR QUALITY.)

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WE PUT "CONSIDERABLE" BEFORE "TEST" DRIVER. (BUT, WHO KNOWS? SEVERAL HAVE RESIGNED. CONSIDERABLE AND UNPREDICTABLE NEW PEOPLE IN THE DRIVER'S SEAT. WHO? WE'VE GOT TO GO.)

WE DON'T PUT THE BRACKETS. (THEY WERE SUPPOSED TO BE. AND, WHO KNOWS? SEVERAL HAVE RESIGNED. CONSIDERABLE AND UNPREDICTABLE NEW PEOPLE IN THE DRIVER'S SEAT. WHO? WE'VE GOT TO GO.)

WE REPLY A "DOE-WAY" DRIVE. (THE WORLD CAN'T. BUT, WHO KNOWS? SEVERAL HAVE RESIGNED. CONSIDERABLE AND UNPREDICTABLE NEW PEOPLE IN THE DRIVER'S SEAT. WHO? WE'VE GOT TO GO.)

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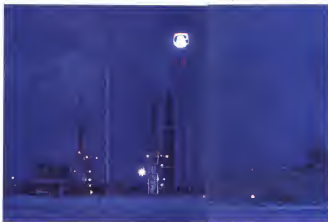
1993 AUTOMOTIVE JOURNALISTS ASSOCIATION OF CANADA'S CAR OF THE YEAR

STRONG MEDICINE

A WIDE-RANGING STRATEGIC REVIEW AT ONTARIO HYDRO LEAVES PRIVATE POWER PRODUCERS OUT IN THE COLD

The perils of the project were clearly easy to anticipate. On Nov. 16, Ontario Hydro, a Crown corporation, to build a special \$550-million plant in Brimstone Township in eastern Ontario. Called a regeneration plant, it would produce two types of energy from a single fuel source. Under the agreement, Ontario placed to learn natural gas to generate electricity, which it would sell to Ontario Hydro, and to produce low-cost steam, which it would sell primarily to Colasene Cement Inc. Employees at the local Colasene plant, whose 380 employees manufacture polyester fibre, and that cheap steam is crucial to the plant's ability to compete internationally. Township officials also counted on affordable waste-to-energy offset other manufacturers, and bought \$1 million worth of adjacent land to create a new industrial park. Said Steve Van Wines, "That one \$550-million plant is the equivalent of the past 40 years of development in our community."

But that optimism was short-lived. On Dec. 17, newly appointed Hydro chairman Maurice Strong, citing a surplus of power in Ontario, froze all such private-sector power projects under development throughout the province. Although Ontario Hydro's apparently arbitrary decision was certainly a blow to private power developers, who have already spent millions of dollars on the projects, it was just one part of Strong's extensive review aimed at reducing the massive \$36-billion debt and assessing the future of the largest utility in Canada. As part of that process, Hydro intends to examine all supply options, including the future of its expensive and problematic nuclear power programs. Last week, Strong also announced plans to cut costs at Hydro by up to \$1 billion



Ontario Colasene plant's energy costs key to international competitiveness

annually, on top of an overall \$14-billion budget reduction that he announced last December. But despite proposed layoffs and capital spending cuts, about 75 per cent of Hydro's costs remain fixed. And although preliminary estimates indicate that the utility earned \$430 million in 1993 on revenues of \$7.8 billion, at least \$300 million in special charges must still be written down. Said Hubert Pelt, vice-president of Toronto-based Eastern Power Developers Inc.: "I certainly don't envy Maurice Strong his job."

Just how well Strong contends with the daunting task ahead of him has implications far beyond the utility's current glow-offer lower in downtown Toronto. Indeed, the future of Ontario's industrial base, already eroded by years of recession, rests in part on his judicious-

ness. At a time when competitiveness and productivity are more critical than ever, hydro or unreliable power supplies can have a decisive impact on corporate profitability. But since 1989, Hydro has increased its rates by 34 per cent and in 1993 alone, by 11.8 per cent. Although detailed figures remain confidential, energy costs can now represent as much as 30 per cent of a manufacturing company's operating budget. According to William Shaddick, vice president and general manager of a paper mill at Ingersoll, Ont., owned by financially troubled Abitibi Free Ltd. of Toronto, containing energy costs are "a key piece of our performance survival."

Still, the advantages of private power remain a debatable point. Although proponents of the projects insist that their plants offer greater

efficiency as well as the environmental benefits of using clean-burning natural gas as a fuel, Ontario Hydro has disrupted new. According to Strong, of all the proposed projects presently, Ontario's 3.7 million hydro consumers might have to pay up to three per cent more for their electricity. Hydro calculated that three-per-cent hike by deducting what it would cost the utility to generate the power itself from what it had agreed to pay the private developer for power to the end of the century.

The province's utility has a notorious record for accuracy when estimating the cost of such megaprojects. The Darlington nuclear plant is now at least five years behind schedule and \$1.3 billion over its original budget of \$5.5 billion. Indeed, Hydro officials attributed fully three-quarters of the 7.9-per-cent average rate increase on Jan. 1, 1993, to costs associated with bringing Darlington on line.

At the same time, the critics question the utility's ability to accurately forecast the future demand for power. Indeed, in December, Hydro-controlled hearings set up its 25-year expansion plan because it is now predicting a power surplus at least until the year 2009. When it first began the hearings in 1983, however, the utility was projecting that power demand would rise by between 50 and 180 per cent by 2014. And, that private power proponents argue, a large part of that alleged surplus can be directly attributed to keeping the Bruce nuclear station operating.

According to opponents for the private power industry, Ontario Hydro's credibility has been jeopardized by its recent actions. Said Paul Barrie, Ontario's business development manager based in Seattle, B.C., "Hydro came to a conclusion, but left it in their opponents as a 'surprise' when it was decided up to the international business community." Added Steve Pelt, general manager of the Colasene plant 30 km west of Kingston, Ont. "People in head office in New York City are asking me, 'What kind of a contract was that?'"

For their part, Ontario Hydro officials say that they are aware of the problems that the freeze on private power projects has created for the private power developers. "People are getting quite agitated," said Douglas Smith, acting vice-president of programming and project planning at the utility. "But we would be irresponsible if we set about with contracts that we don't need." Smith said that Hydro was particularly concerned that no easy jobs are at stake, but added, "we must consider the net effect that higher electricity prices would have on jobs and investment."

Nevertheless, within the job of Maurice Strong as well.

cripping design flows, Bruce was tagged by some observers as a candidate for mothballing. However, Stephen Broyles, president of Pryn & Co., a Toronto-based company that specializes in arranging financing for private power projects from institutional investors, noted that the recent freeze on those projects will ensure that Bruce continues to operate. Said Broyles, "Hydro says that it will cost \$3 billion to refuel the Bruce station. That's almost the equivalent of building a new one."

As well, Hydro's critics note that the province's utility has a notorious record for accuracy when estimating the cost of such megaprojects. The Darlington nuclear plant is now at least five years behind schedule and \$1.3 billion over its original budget of \$5.5 billion. Indeed, Hydro officials attributed fully three-quarters of the 7.9-per-cent average rate increase on Jan. 1, 1993, to costs associated with bringing Darlington on line.

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Nevertheless, within the job of Maurice Strong as well.

BARBARA WICKENS

Business Notes

EXPORT EXTRAVAGANZA

A leveraged Canadian dollar, buoyant U.S. demand and improved productivity are cited as the principal reasons for an 11.5-per-cent increase in Canadian exports last year. According to Statistics Canada, the country exported a record \$157.5 billion worth of goods in 1993 and the trade surplus with all countries climbed to \$46 billion from \$5.8 billion in 1991. The surge in exports was concentrated in intermediate products, machinery and equipment sectors.

CONCENTRATED ENERGY

Westcoast Energy Inc. of Vancouver has agreed to sell its oil and gas subsidiary, Westcoast Petroleum Ltd., in a takeover from Asian investors for \$347.5 million. The assets sale will allow the company to focus on its utility operations and to pay off part of its \$685-million purchase of Transco-based Union Energy Inc. The seven acquisition allows Westcoast to expand its natural-gas distribution network to include an additional 1.2 million customers in Ontario.

CHANGING CAPTAINS

A.E. Berrell has been elected chairman of the board of Petro-Canada Inc. was appointed to the job two weeks after Wilbert (Bud) Skipper was fired by the Calgary-based oil company after 17 years. Berrell, 68, is president of Berrell Resource Consultants Ltd. and has spent 45 years in the oil industry.

DEVELOPING CONFIDENCE

Troubled real estate developer Bensvale Ltd. of Toronto has been successful in securing for its new business plan from lenders with a chance involving \$2.3 billion. Bensvale is currently trying to restructure \$4.9 billion in debt under court protection. To that end, the company said that it aims to add \$2 billion worth of assets by 1997. Last week, it announced that it had secured a \$2.3-billion line of credit from a consortium of lenders. The consortium includes the Bank of Montreal, the Royal Bank of Canada, the Toronto-Dominion Bank and the National Trust Bank.

FLIGHT INTO DANGER

Air Canada reported a record loss of \$454 million net, or 66.1¢ a share, for the year ended Dec. 31, 1993. That compares to a net of \$228 million, or \$2.94 a share, in 1992, which included a \$142-million income tax recovery. Company chairman Helmut (Hans) Maier "the worldwide aircraft manufacturer record books" for the airline industry. The airline also suffered fuel-costs due to taxation and reported his fall for Air Canada and Canadian Airlines to merge.



A time to respect the law of the land

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Unless the government of Canada decides to enforce its own regulations, the first so-called Canadian edition of *Time* magazine's Sports Illustrated will go on sale across this country on April 5, undermining and perhaps destroying what's left of Canada's magazine industry. For the third time in three decades, the powerful *Time* conglomerate is challenging the advertising base of domestic publishers by importing directly-paid-for U.S. editorial product on our markets, and wrapping it, like native fish, in a thin layer of local content, so that it can be sold to advertisers as a "Canadian" product.

I can't pretend to be an impartial witness to these corporate maneuvers, because as editor of this magazine, I fought its original *Time* lobby in the mid-1970s—and won. It was Ottawa's agreement with our coalition that *Time* magazine should be treated exactly for what it is—an American publication—that allowed us the advertising routes to turn Montreal's ads a pennyworth. What was involved—first and foremost—interpretation of Canada's tariff from 1962, which defines the notion that foreign publications should not be allowed to recycle their editorial content by dumping it into Canada, replacing the original U.S. ads with Canadian advertising pages that might otherwise appear in our own domestic publications. All the same time, Section 10 of the Income Tax Act was amended to encourage Canadian business to use foreign-made media by deducting the usual tax deductions on money spent in foreign markets.

Since these measures were enacted, Ottawa has had little trouble enforcing them. Whenever American publishers thought about launching Canadian editions, they were reminded of the rules, and backed off. But not *Time*. Its executives are so certain of victory at the current round that they've already laid a launch party for their "Canadian" edition of *Sports Illustrated* and even published a note card. They're planning to sell full-page, four-color ads for \$4,250,

charged much well-known titles as *Maple*, *Liberty*, *Canadian Home Journal*, not to mention a Canadian magazine called *Sports Illustrated* started long before its U.S. counterpart. Only a \$100,000 profit from *Imperial Oil* allowed *Saturday Night*, which had temporarily suspended publication, to survive.

During the hearings of a royal commission appointed to examine the issue, Larry Laybourne, then managing director of *Time* Canada, claimed his submission with the same declaration, "I invite the commission to consider whether *Time* magazine in Canada is not in all essential respects a Canadian periodical." That was more than commission chairman Senator Graham (D-Que.) the first published letter editor of *The Ottawa Journal*, could stomach. He telephoned *Time* publisher Henry Luce (the General Electric of 1930s) and asked him to testify. On Jan. 17, 1981, the mighty Luce threatened the witness stand and made the definitive statement on the true status of his magazine. "I may be in some disagreement with my colleagues," opened he, "but you said, sir, you wanted me to be very plain—I do not consider *Time* a Canadian magazine."

Neither is *Sports Illustrated*. Another exchange I recall most vividly was a private conversation I had with John Roberts, who, during the early 1960s, was deputy minister of trade and commerce and had just returned from a visit to the American state department, where the *Time* issue had been discussed. Roberts, who was one of those men of impeccable demeanor and who realized getting caught with weapons brandished shows as something that one simply doesn't do, was all shook up. "You know," he told me, "I wouldn't have believed it before I went to Washington, but from now on to be kidding, literally nothing, we could suggest that would upset the business case. I had the distinct feeling that if we dare make the Canadian operations of *Time*, the state department would view it as a more serious matter than I felt. For example, we said armed tanks to Fidel Castro."

In the fall of 1982, *Time* tried again, but failed, to break down the barriers. The magazine mounted a campaign to persuade the Mulroney government that, as part of its free trade package, it should rescind the legislation protecting Canadian magazines. With *Time* the back again on the subject, it's worth quoting Luce again. At *Time*'s 40th anniversary party, a glowing affair held in 1980, he proudly declared: "The whole concept of the American proposition requires *Time* to exist."

Luce was right. Periodicals do have a price. They are identification with their own sense of style, their magazines are known to the friends and enemies of a people that Americans dream and anxieties are not ours. As Senator Gleason wrote in his commission report so many years ago: "Only a truly Canadian periodical press, one with the feel of Canada and directly responsible to Canadian readers, can give the critical analysis, the informed discourse and dialogue which are indispensable in a sovereign society."

By legitimizing a 'Canadian' Sports Illustrated, Ottawa would allow every other U.S. magazine to invade this country

compared with \$25,000 for similar space in *Maple*'s. As a further comparison, ads in U.S. regional editions of *Sports Illustrated* for markets similar in circulation to the "Canadian" edition typically cost about \$10,000, double the Canadian rate. That kind of discounting would destroy Canada's magazine industry, eating up our personal advertising revenues, already weakened by the impact of television and the dismal state of the economy. By legitimizing its exorbitant "Canadian" edition of *Sports Illustrated*, Ottawa would allow every other American magazine (80 of them have Canadian circulations in excess of 50,000) to go ahead and invade this country.

As Catherine Kewchik of the Canadian Magazine Publishers Association points out, a three-percent shift of advertising dollars to U.S.-owned publications would give our domestic industry's already slim profit margin. We indicated that kind of domination once before, between 1950 and 1972. The Canadian editions of *Time* and *Roadster* (Dagbladet) appropriated as much as twice during those years the 300 Canadian magazines with a combined circulation of 30 million copies were forced out of business. They in-

PEOPLE

Rock makeover

It has been a long wait for rock fans. But last year after their first album, the five members of the group *Boyz n the City* have a new one, *Top of the Funk*, and are on a whirlwind tour of Canada, the United States and Europe. "We all took time off," said lead singer and band heartthrob Jon Bon



Jon Jovi. "My hardest was no big deal."

Jovi. "Each of us did our own projects, and I think that it helped us as people and as musicians." The 30-year-old singer used to be known for his baritone croon—a feeling that some teenage girls found very attractive. But now, he is sporting a new, shorter hairstyle. "My haircut was nothing like you know," said the New Jersey-born hit jock, whose father was a hairdresser. "I mean, such a big fuss was made out of it—like I would lose my voice if I cut my hair, like a mad-doggy haircut." He added: "I'm not like Elvis cutting off his hair or something."

The master of the dance

"To produce this work in about 10 minutes, it was a challenge. We played in a casino in Monte Carlo," said John Neumann, the acclaimed director and chief choreographer of Germany's Hamburg Ballet. Neumann is in Toronto for the past three weeks preparing *National Ballet*



Bachman: "Shockingly beautiful!"

THE OTHER SIDE OF FILM-MAKING

She is a screen legend, her evocation of a troublesome of misbehavior Swedish director Ingmar Bergman's movies. Now, actress Lisa Ullmann has taken a turn on the other side of the camera—director and screenwriter of *Sella*, a recently released movie about a woman torn between her family's expectations and her own desires. Although the 53-year-old *Norwegian* said that the director's chair was "a good place to be," she told *Maclean's* that she had to confront one troubling problem during *Sella*'s three-month shoot: actors. "I had the usual difficulties of every female boss of a predominantly male crew," Ullmann said.

"Men have their subtle ways—'Oh, little size, do you really want that? We'll take care of this. But somebody took care? We thought you were invisible.' I had to overcome that and I had to make work harder than men would be show that I knew my business." The result of her confident approach is a "very personal" movie, Ullmann said. "Somebody who is very vulnerable is the director because, in a way, it is so very much his hobby," she added. "And this is very much my hobby."



Ullmann: "Men have their subtle ways."

of Canada dancers for the Feb. 24 world premiere of its latest work, *New and Then*. "There's very little stage time, lighting time or time with the sets and costumes," he added, "because of financial reasons." Although Neumann has been frustrated by the National's tight budget, he is clearly impressed by its

Neumann: "It's like birth."



dancers. "I have chosen seven couples, among them Karen Kala, who's wonderful artist," he said, "and they have responded extremely well." After more than 30 years in ballet, Kala, who's now 35, acknowledged being "very nervous" before opening nights. But he added: "It's like birth. After a birth, you forget about the pain."

A cry of protest

Rising tuition fees stir campus discontent

In a Halifax, the protest began in mid-January when nearly three dozen students lowered temperatures that plunged to -60°C and spent two nights camped outside the administration building at Dalhousie University. After two days, their demonstration involved a noisy dinner when about 30 members of the Dalhousie board of governors met inside the building to debate a 10-per-cent increase in tuition fees for the 1993-1994 school year. Close to 150 students, packed the lobby outside the meeting room, checking laptops and peering on the doors. In the confusion, someone pulled a fire alarm, sending the protesters running for the exits. Behind the closed doors, the board members agreed the motion to approve the fee increase—then joined the rush outside. "It was a stormy meeting," said Dalhousie president Howard Clark, "but a strong majority of the board favored the increase in that way."

If university tuition fees and debts keep rising, high-school students may be discouraged from staying on in school

Other

More than halfway through the current academic year, university administrators across the country are dreading their 1993-1994 operating budgets—and many have concluded that tuition fees must go up. The principal reason, government spending cuts, accounting for about 75 per cent of the funding for most Canadian universities, are frozen or, at best, will increase only at the rate of inflation. And as government support dries up, some university administrators anticipate a rise in the cost of a postsecondary education will soon fall on the students' shoulders. But as they edge up their fees, universities are already encountering stiff resistance from students, who have shored ship up against increases in most provinces for the past several years. Since early December, university students in Ottawa, Toronto, Guelph, Ont., Thunder Bay, Ont., Vancouver and Victoria have demonstrated against proposed or approved fee increases. Said Jennifer Russell, a 20-year-old marine biology student who participated in the Dalhousie protest: "This last

increase will mean that our tuition has doubled 50 per cent in three years."

In fact, the discontent has built up steadily on campuses across the country as tuition fees have increased annually since the mid-1980s. Research compiled by the Dalhousie Canadian Federation of Students shows that since the 1985-1986 academic year, fee increases for full-time arts students have ranged from 45 per cent at the University of Ottawa, among the lowest in the country, to 160 per cent at Montreal's McGill University. A general arts undergraduate's tuition this year at McGill, the University of Ottawa and UBC at McGill, Two Rivers, British Columbia, and the University of Alberta, have the highest undergraduate fees this year at \$2,425.

But as fees rise, the 5-year assistance available through the federal government's Canada Student Loans Program remained frozen at the 1984 maximum of \$105 per academic week as a result of about \$1,500 a year. Most provincial governments also offer additional assistance, but in many cases those programs, too, are capped at scaled-back levels.

For their part, many student leaders contend that governments should strongly support higher education to provide Canada with the educated workforce needed to maintain its standard of living. Kirby Laurock, chairman of the Canadian Federation of Students, said that graduating high-school students may be discouraged from pursuing postsecondary education if tuition fees, and the accumulated debt loads of university graduates, keep rising. Laurock said: "These loans are going to become unmanageable, and the debt loads are going to go up."

In one of many demonstrations against tuition increases, about 180 students marched to the University of Victoria campus in the provincial legislature in Victoria early last month. They were protesting plans by British Columbia's New Democratic Party government to lift a one-year fee freeze and allow universities and colleges to raise fees by up to 10 per cent in 1993 and 1994. The province's four universities will be able to



Students protest at provincial legislature in Victoria financial crisis

charge full-time undergraduate students about \$2,000 a year, up from the current average of \$1,525. In Vancouver, about 2,000 University of British Columbia (UBC) students marched from the student union to the university's faculty club and damaged a board of provincial lawmakers in January.

Martin Ert, a 23-year-old physics major and first-president of the university's student union, said that a group of demonstrators barged into the dining room while the governors were having dinner. Ert presented the board with a petition against courses agreed by about 30,000 students, or roughly 40 per cent of the university's enrollment. "We were unseated at the dinner," added Ert, "because UBC is notorious for student apathy."

Many students say that they are being forced to find jobs during the academic year simply to cover their expenses. Cynthia Reeves, a 23-year-old psychology major at Toronto's York University, said that she dropped out of five courses after she was taking as a full-time student to enable her to hold a receptionist's job with the York student union. "I have to work part time," said Reeves, "and I can't take a full

course load and work at the same time." Other students complain that, as fees increase, universities are providing lower-quality education and delivering fewer services. Paul Kemp, for example, president of the University of Manitoba student union, said that at the university's two Winnipeg campuses, most classes are overcrowded and the number of teaching assistants is dropping. Kemp said that the decline in the number of teaching assistants has forced professors to take on a heavier workload, and that many have responded by assigning fewer concepts to be rehearsed on multiple choice exams, which are less time-consuming to mark. For fees well exceeding less demanding work, Kemp said that many students "feel they are paying more and getting less."

Still, many university administrators say that they will be forced to continue increasing fees because they are faced with what they describe as a serious financial crisis. George Pedersen, president of the University of Western Ontario in London, said that enrollment at Ontario universities is expected to

decline by 20 per cent during the next decade. But, said Pedersen, heavily indebted federal and provincial governments will probably not be able to provide the increased operating grants needed to deal with higher enrollment. The only solution, added Pedersen, may be for governments to stop regulating the amounts that universities can charge students and "allow us to charge what the market will bear." He said that student financial aid should also be increased.

Similarly, Robert Fradette, president of the University of Toronto, Canada's largest university, said that students will have to begin paying a larger share of the total cost of their postsecondary education. In Ontario, it costs about \$11,000 a year to educate an undergraduate student. Fradette said that tuition fees now cover about 30 per cent of the cost of a student's education. He added that students should begin paying about 25 per cent of the cost of their schooling, because a university education is usually a personally and professionally enriching experience. Such a change, he said, would mean tuition fees for undergradu-

ate arts and science students in Ontario to about \$2,000 from the current average of about \$2,600. "Canadian universities are grossly underfunded," he said. "Students should pick up a fair share of the cost of a university education as part of a plan of recovery for Canada's universities."

Increasingly, the financial squeeze on universities results in students being turned away by the academics of their choice. In British Columbia, a rapidly growing population and a decline in funding for higher education have imposed new demands on the province's postsecondary institutions. University of Victoria president David Strang said that the number of incoming applicants for the current academic year increased by 20 per cent over the past two years. He said that the university had to turn away about 1,000 students who met the entrance requirements because the university simply could not accommodate that many.

Many student leaders argue that fees have become a barrier that prevent less privileged students from attending university. In fact, some institutions have adopted incentive programs to ensure that they can provide financial assistance to poor or disadvantaged students. Clark said that since the 1990-1991 school year, Dalhousie paid 25 per cent of all revenue collected through fee increases into a financial assistance fund. As a result, during the past three academic years the university has collected and disbursed \$4.1 million to needy students, Clark said.

Tuition fees are likely to remain a controversial issue. Last spring, the British Columbia government set up a 15-member committee to examine the province's student assistance program and potential barriers to postsecondary education. Committee chairman Jennifer Olson, a financial aid administrator at the British Columbia Institute of Technology, said that tuition fees proved more divisive than any issue that the committee studied. Indeed, a bare majority of committee members recommended that the government decrease fees while a student body majority of seven universities dissented. Olson "needs to university should be based on ability," said Jacqueline Reid, a Canadian Federation of Students representative on the committee. "Just allowing students to pay 'flat' fees, even though students are raising their voices in protest, the growing squeeze on government spending may mean that tuition fees will continue their unresolvable rise."

TIMOTHY MINISH with JOHN DANEZIN in Halifax



A questionable caterwauling

BY GEORGE BAIN

How we really reached the point in Canada of being forbidden by some undefined rule of civility from joking, even jokingly, about some matter of current social behavior? Obviously, what this is about is the issue of physical, cerebral, and now—the latest wild-card—psychological abuse of women as portrayed particularly by an alarmist-sensory faction of the feminist movement; that, and John Croake's comment that he himself had never been sexually harassed, but if he had, he would want to make it known that he had been so harassed.

That, held on. It is necessary to be careful here. I was about to say the same produced in the House of Commons an absurd outburst of questionable propriety, when the thought occurred to me that it might be wise to check the derivation of the word in case circumstances itself might be contrived as well. But, no, the term derives from caterwaul, and women to howl, thus the cry of a male cat in catting time, which looks to be not only safe enough as in fact, but reasonably accurate in description.

The questionable severity throughout several factions. One, that the House of Commons at all times is a just place. Two, that the effort to cultivate goodwill among significant bodies of voters (and had well for supporters), is the job of the politician straight. Three, that the admission of a faction of the feminist movement can deliver a great volume of noise as alleged of the party in power. And, four, that a general election will occur this year, and, at such times, kindness and good sense disappear progressively faster as the day approaches. They're in a sort of full flight already, not just as seen in the howl over Croake's alleged degradation of sexual harassment.

Croake was talking to a Newfoundland audience about the new unemployment insurance rates that had been haggled over for days in Question Period when he slipped into

*The all-men-are-vile
faction of the
feminist movement
can deliver a
great volume
of noise*

his "just about sexual harassment," as one commentator called it, (some rest). "To discuss outrageous talk in a wild and vehement way," I learned afterwards had been made that women would be trapped in jobs where they were subjected to harassment because they couldn't afford to get out, they would be denied unemployment insurance if they quit without just cause. Repeatedly. It was said in reply that those allegations were false, because harassment concerned past tense. It was from the point that a later time was being cited that Croake took off.

In The Globe and Mail, Graham Fraser, who had characterized Croake's comments as a "rest," also said: "It was an extraordinary display of [his] inability to recognize the cardinal rules of the new political environment: politicians are judged less on what they do than on how they behave, and sexual harassment is not a joking matter. Ever." (Humph!) the perhaps Fraser was spending satirically—did you notice his connotations of humor, and humor is as foreign to current Canadian political reporting as it is to Canada's average voter.

A worse joke than anything Croake said about sexual harassment at the joke the

same strident supporters of the cause make of it with their tongue-tied, exaggerated statements and dramatic statistical analyses, which, aided by sensational media coverage, blow the man up to literally unbelievable proportions. The current example is the study by two Carleton University sociologists, as reported earlier this month, that said Canadians 66 per cent of women in university campuses say they have suffered sexual abuse of some sort on dates. Only after several days of intense viewing with alarm in the media, did second thoughts begin to be stirred—mainly as Peter Gosselin's *Newsweek*—about such matters as what "psychological abuse" means.

Published samples of questions asked and answered in the survey showed psychological abuse in many—in addition to a hefty boost to the total figure of abuse—that many respondents had been, or said they had been, sworn at or insulted, put down in front of acquaintances, accused of having faked or had affairs, experienced things done or said to spite them, threatened with having something thrown at them, or witnessed things thrown, smashed, or kicked in their presence. None of those are extreme expressions of anger exclusive to men. Also, while males were asked what unpleasantly things they had done to women, the researchers, with Victorian reserve, refrained from asking women what unpleasant things they had done to men. Most of the alleged psychological abuses could have occurred in a crowded restaurant.

No less strange an evidence of female subject to male abuse were several questions and answers of a more explicitly sexual nature. For example, a question, to which 33 per cent said "Yes," from the experience of their post-high school years, was: "Have you given in to sex play (doodling, kissing, or petting, but not intercourse) when you didn't want to because you were overwhelmed by a man's continual arguments and pressure?" (Note that the term was "gave in.") The same question, substituting "sexual intercourse" for "petting" produced a 59-per-cent Yes.

What is strange about both questions and answers is that they reflect an unusual passivity and compliance whereby all men with the popular notion of the modern woman—dependent, self-reliant, assured and decisive. There is an suggestion of force in those questions, and this is force of argument. Assuming equality of persons, if the male is active in not worth resisting, the word is to be said that a great deal of time has been entered into. That does not equal as sexual harassment, or abuse. It is as if women, instead of being content to remain in the archaic below, climbed to the balcony and Juliet's bedroom, from which she emerged in her day, as she said, "So what could I do? I could hardly say 'No,' when he'd gone to all the trouble of climbing the rose trellis to the room." Sexual harassment is no joke, but much of what is said about it is.

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SPORTS

A dynasty undone

The stars no longer shine in Edmonton

Twenty-two championship banners, including five for Stanley Cups, hang high above the ice at Edmonton's Northlands Coliseum. On the 17,500-seat home of the National Hockey League's Edmonton Oilers stands a life-size bronze statue of ex-Oiler Wayne Gretzky. The banners and the heritage to the Great One testify to the dynasty that ruled the North American hockey world in the 1980s. But now, less than three years after they lost a Stanley Cup championship, the Oilers are a force in turmoil in danger of missing the playoffs and of losing their once-dominant lead.

Last week, the team's owner, Peter Pocklington, was negotiating to sell his faltering franchise while rumors flew that, if no Edmonton group met his sale price, he might even move the team to a larger city in the United States. But insiders contend that that rumor was probably just a negotiating ploy. "I think he will sell the team locally," maintained a fellow local governor. "For the first time he is fed up."

So, too, are many Edmonton hockey fans, who blame the unraveling Pocklington for orchestrating the franchise's demise. In 14 NHL seasons, Edmonton has never missed the playoffs and, until recently, rarely played to less than full houses. But fans trace the disappointing decline in both league standings and attendance to Pocklington's tactics of such high-priced stars as former captain Gretzky and Mark Messier for cash and line or lights. Pocklington has also alienated some potential investors by suddenly threatening to sell his team to sell a minority interest as a tactic to build his own new arena in rival the 15,000-seat Northlands. But the popular organization that runs the Northlands, the Oilers' landlord, has been trying since late January to buy the team in a deal that includes any future involvement with Pocklington. "Honestly, I am not prepared to enter into any partnership with Mr. Pocklington," said Edmonton Northlands president Gerry Turco.

Late last week, Pocklington reportedly refused a Northlands offer of \$60 million, which is barely more than half of the \$125 million that Pocklington was said to be seeking, although 18 hours what Pocklington paid for the Oilers in 1979, and substantially more than the cost of a new NHL franchise. But the Northlands offer remained on the table. "The price tag has little to do with what Hockey Means in Alberta," Pocklington was said. "I told Northlands general manager Cliff Forbes,

referring to the \$50-million expansion fees that Miami Braves interests and the California-based Walt Disney Co. are paying for new franchises. Self-Forbes "Expansion fees may have one price, operating teams another."

The sell-off of Oiler talent began in 1987 when, rather than meet Paul Coffey's con-

ting with new players in exchange, the trades netted Pocklington more than \$80 million in cash. "All this selling of players gets in the fan's cross," said 32-year-old Oiler fan David McMillan, watching a televised Oilers game in a Jasper Avenue sports bar. The sell-off of stars, along with the recession and higher seat prices, have combined to leave average attendance about 3,000 short of capacity. "I would go but it costs too much," said Marc Labrec, a 32-year-old commercial art technician in Edmonton. "To take the wife and grand sons means about \$180 for the night."

Pocklington reports that losses based in such smaller NHL cities as Edmonton need to control concussions, luxury boxes and parking to be economically viable. Calgary Flames officials say that they need \$500,000 annually from private Saskatchewan boxes and they hope to negotiate a share of concession revenue.



Gretzky and Oilers celebrating their 1985 Stanley Cup star sell-off of talent

tract demands Pocklington and team president Glen Sather traded the all-star defenseman to Pittsburgh. Then, in the summer of 1988, after the Oilers had won their fourth Stanley Cup in five years, Pocklington bid the unthinkable by sending Gretzky to the Los Angeles Kings for, most notably, \$10 million in cash. Later Edmonton fans blamed Pocklington in effect. In 1989, Pocklington's Games Inc., a movie producing firm, was taken over by the prominent powerhouses after the Oilers' owner defaulted on a \$67-million general loan. Since then, the Oilers have traded away high-scoring winger Jim Fox, forward, the team leader, winger Glenn Anderson, goalie Grant Fuhr and, most recently, forwards Vince Damphousse and Bernie Nicholls, and longtime Oiler defenseman Kevin Lowe.

Northlands Coliseum boxes contribute only about \$400,000 annually to Oiler finances, and the limited control of concessions.

The Northlands negotiations alleged local fans that the Oilers would leave the city, but the team's scrambling has, at least nominally, broken some of the tensions between the team and its fans. "Canadian used to think they owned the game of hockey," said Donald Whitman, a University of Alberta physical education professor. "But the NHL was always a group of businessmen whose owners move their teams to where they could make the most money." For now, fans who walk in the inter-city battle of Alberta with Calgary will have to hope that the team can find a way to make money in Edmonton.

JOHN HOFFMAN in Edmonton

The blight on society

Is the modern world a 'monstrous moral hybrid'?

The littered surface of Jane Jacobs' coffee table tells an eloquent tale. There, nestled amid stacks of current magazines, is an intricate jigsaw puzzle of a crashing wave. It is, explains the 56-year-old writer and urban-planner activist, a favorite puzzle that she could not bring herself to finish again. Indeed, perseverance has been one of the principal features of Jacobs' work. In her influential polemic on urban planning, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, published in 1961, she ardently challenged and effectively debunked the popular notion that other neighborhoods should be razed rather than redeveloped. But it is her kindness for those readers that provides the most revealing insight to Jacobs' newest book. Despite its meticulous sweep, the Toronto author says that she started *System of Survival: A Dialogue on the Moral Foundations of Commerce and Politics* (Random House, 294 pages, \$27.95) by "collecting examples" and gradually trying to detect a pattern among fragments of detailed information that caught her attention over several years.

In fact, it took Jacobs 15 years to gather all the details that make up *System*; she read a wide variety of books and devoured clipped snippets from newspapers and magazines. The result is a rich and elegant tapestry of intellectual threads that Jacobs has carefully woven together to support her conviction that urban commercial culture is the best defense of a profound ethical core. To document that thesis, she has culled upon an array of sources ranging from articles in *The Wall Street Journal* and anthropological debates about obscure African tribes to historical facts about the tradition of civility in medieval Europe. Thorough and broadly based, the book is built around the fundamental premise that the domains of government and commerce must be carefully separated to avoid mutual corruption.

System unfolds in a dialogue among five fictional characters. It begins with Annaliese, a retired publisher, and a group of friends together in his Manhattan apartment for a discussion about delinquency in the workplace. As their debate intensifies, the heart of Jacobs' argument emerges, that the healthy "commercial life" and a prosperous economy are the absolute basis of such social virtues as stability, democracy and even liberty.

During a recent interview with *Maclean's* in her comfortable downtown Toronto home,

Jacobs explained that the ideas expressed in *System* "came upon me gradually," growing from her initial interest in cities and urban planning. In *The Economy of Cities*, published in 1966, she began to explore the idea of cities as great trading centers. That research eventually led her to distinguish between "traders" and "crafters" within society. Fifteen years later, she produced *Cities and the Wealth of Nations*, in which she analyzed, among other things, classical economic theory and related it to the current financial circumstances of cities. From that point, Jacobs began to collect and categorize information related to even broader economic and political issues. "It's a bit-and-erase process," she said, "and even as you start to refine it, it morphs like mad, you have to stay open to new ideas."

According to the theory that Jacobs eventually developed, humans are distinct from other species of animals because of their ability to trade with one another. That characteristic has definitely shaped the human social order, resulting in the evolution of two separate groups: producers and traders. The producer class, which includes government, the military and the police, is responsible for providing order and balancing rules to ensure that trade is fair and that economic life is secure and prosperous. The remainder of orders, on the other hand, is to respect those rules and to enforce society by expanding their business. As a consequence of their divergent roles in the social structure, Jacobs contends, guardians and traders each have their own moral imperative and ethical "syndrome." Among other qualities, traders have to reach voluntary agreements; collaborate easily with strangers; and be willing to embrace new ideas, while guardians stand and looking to be obedient and show loyalty. But where the line between the two groups is allowed to blur, corruption is inevitable and the result is a "monstrous moral hybrid."

Although Jacobs, who moved to Canada from Manhattan in 1964, has developed a deep attachment to her adopted country, she describes it as a prime example of a "moral hybrid" because of its long tradition of government-funded regional development programs and direct investment in business. That lack of strict separation between the two groups has led to the current economic problems. "There's a great myth in Canada that we combine commerce and guardianship well," said Jacobs. "But every day in the



papers, there's evidence that's not so. We're always reading about financialization with Citicorp corporations and billion-dollar bonuses."

Canada is not the only subject of Jacobs' criticism. She also denounces the economic platform of President Bill Clinton, which proposes to use government spending initiatives to spur domestic recovery. "Kick-starting the economy is not a legitimate—or even a possible—guardian role," she said. "Government's role is to create a good climate for new ideas and honest trade." At the same time, although Jacobs said that she supports the idea of free trade, she added that she is discouraged by the way it is now taking shape, in spite with bitter, protracted trade disputes

Jacobs' government and commerce must be carefully separated to avoid corruption

According to Jacobs, the moral conditioning of guardians makes them ripe for bribery and agreement. "In some of the government's involvement, trade becomes corrupted," she said. "Guardians have to learn to distinguish between genuine, legitimate threats and competitive trade."

Jacobs notes that the historical separation of guardians and traders was scrupulously maintained in both European and Asian cultures. Indeed, medieval lawyers could not serve their king if they were any traders or craftsmen in their lands. All the more true, the Japanese samurai warrior class was also forbidden from engaging in trade or associ-

ating with those who did. According to Jacobs, that strong taboo ensured, among other things, that guildlike loyalties would remain self-reliant and secure in times of siege rather than becoming dependent upon outside suppliers or customers. Restrictions against trading also prevented the guardian class from casually betraying secrets as the course of transactions with potential enemies. "In view of the danger," she writes, "the very small degree of trading could not have been deemed as too liberally and easily as the moral upbringing of children destined for military life."

The fear that Jacobs was to prevent her

form is as original as her underlying thesis. By tightly modeling the classic style of the Puritan dialogue, she has presented *System* from deeper stage into a preachy treatise or a bloodless academic exercise—despite its abstract Orientalism. Instead, the superior richness of Jacobs' writing, the few participants make outsiders in to the debate. "I wanted people to feel that they were involved and that they could relate to these issues in everyday life," Jacobs said.

Jacobs' insistence on making her books accessible is a wide spectrum of readers is an integral part of her personal credo. Indeed, one of the reasons her first book was so controversial was that, despite her strong and well-argued views, Jacobs has always been an academic's critic. Beyond high school. That fact, she said, has freed her from the constraints of "academic ivory tower writing" as well as the ritual of deferring to established thought on certain subjects. Jacobs remains that she was a great work on *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, several well-entrenched academic experts tried to take her under their wing and to convince her to conduct a "predecessor" study based on a questionnaire. She asked, "When I felt them, I was just so grateful that I was not trapped with such nonsense."

Jacobs' outspoken views have frequently been involved into action. A frequent critic of Toronto's municipal government, she was one of the leaders of a group that collectively thwarted the extension of the Spadina Expressway into downtown Toronto in 1971. Strong political beliefs have also led Jacobs, her husband, architect Robert Jacobs, and three children to move to Toronto 25 years ago as a protest against American involvement in the Vietnam War. Yet, despite her glowing praise for Toronto and its varied neighborhoods, Jacobs still returned to New York as the setting for *System*. "The characters wouldn't believe in Toronto—they were too polite and considerate," she said. "New Yorkers are much more blunt."

As with Jacobs' past works, there is reason to be considerably disappointed about the strong point of view that she presents and the arguments that she has assembled to back it. But that is precisely the objective of the book. Declared Jacobs, "I hope to raise the level of awareness about these issues. Once there is some awareness and debate, we can start looking at things in a fresh eye." For Jane Jacobs, disagreement and discussion are pieces of the puzzle, essential steps in getting at the big picture.

DEBORAH MCHENRY

TELEVISION

Hockey's hell-raiser

Spinner Spencer battled on and off the ice

GR66 MISCONDUCT
(RNC, Feb. 28, 8 p.m.)

The young athlete's father takes him up a hill to dispense a piece of advice as stark as the view of Fort St. James, their decade logging community in northern British Columbia. "Life is the first—you can live here and be loved here," says the father. "Or you can play hockey." That early scene sets the dark, anguished tone for the new CBC movie *Gross Misconduct*, about the life of Canadian hockey star Brian (Spinner) Spencer. The drama traces the victory career of one of the most notorious players in the history of Canadian hockey, a man who lived and died violently. Based on a 1988 biography by Toronto journalist Marcia O'Malley and directed by celebrated Canadian filmmaker Alona Eyagon, *Gross Misconduct* is much more than a chronicle of one man's rise and fall—it delves into

the forces that moved his heart and soul.

The facts alone of Spencer's roller-coaster life would have made for an enthralling TV movie. He was born in 1949 to Irene Spencer, a teacher, and her husband, Roy, a highly skilled mechanic who pushed Brian and his twin brother, Byron, to perfect their strength and endurance as the ice gods because fond of alcohol as children, and Brian was sent to reform school, and then a foster home, in his mother's. A star of the Toronto Maple Leafs at 21, he played 18 seasons with four different teams, earning the nickname "Spinner" for his aggressive skating style. By 28, his hockey career was over and he moved to Florida, where he began a part-time sumo career. He was twice divorced and almost penniless when, at 35, he beat a murder charge. Three months later, a thief shot him dead.

But Gross Misconduct is also a deftly drawn morality tale about the things that made

Spencer tick: hockey and violence. The indie passion of writer Paul Gross and director Eyagon is almost palpable in a scene that depicts Spencer's father forcing the boy to skate full force into his brother as part of their daily hockey lessons. In later years, as Spencer (portrayed as an adult by Daniel Kash) played for millions of cheering fans, the movie makes it clear that beating up other players was a higher priority than scoring goals. The producers have punctuated the dramatic sequences with documentary footage of former crowds loudly cheering for the club's violent outbursts.

In an interview with *Maclean's*, Gross maintained that the violence in Spencer's personal life mirrored the hockey star's personal life: "When he left hockey, Spencer was baffled that something that was celebrated on the ice could only spell trouble in the outside world," and Gross. "It was that confusion that I wanted to get across." *Gross Misconduct* draws that out with convincing serenity in scenes depicting the former star's down-and-out life in the trailer parks and bars of Florida, and his volatile relationship with a prostitute named Diane Deloria (Gloria Zane), the woman who eventually accused Spencer of killing one of her former clients.

For his part, Eyagon says that he was especially attracted by the prospect of using television to tell the life story of someone who achieved fame on the small screen. "I wanted

to make viewers aware that they are engaged in the very medium that somehow set in motion the whole story they are watching," and Eyagon. Television was central to Spencer's existence not only because *Monday Night* in Canada made him a national figure. It also played an important role in one of the most painful events of Spencer's life: the death of his father. Argued that the CBC aired his son's second Maple Leafs game to viewers everywhere except in British Columbia, the elder Spencer held hostage several staff members of the local network affiliate—until RCMP officers shot and killed him.

The filmmakers drive home the importance of that event to Spencer Spencer's life by interjecting key reminders of it—each only several seconds long, and with its own title linked on the screen—throughout the central story. One of those scenes is provided by the printed words, "The day Roy Spencer was shot dead he smelted a new television antenna," and shows the proud father looking with

awe on the top of the house. A later scene, which appears after Spencer's parents learned of the CBC decision, shows the men heading to his truck with several guns and a bottle of whiskey, and a title, "The day Roy

Spencer was shot dead he walked through sugar snow." The result is a blend of breath-taking tension and heartbreaking pathos. "What I wanted to get across," said Eyagon, "was a father's mania when he realizes he cannot share in this golden evening he has worked all his life to build."

Despite the show's depth and complexity, *Gross Misconduct* at times descends into caricature. The several scenes tracing Spencer's two marriages depict him as little more than a one-dimensional and on the home front. But on the whole, the movie offers a glimpse of the inner life of a man who was both a Canadian hero—and, like the film clearly argues, a national tragedy. "Brian," said Gross, "was the raw edge of the Canadian soul." Impassioned and unflinching, *Gross Misconduct* is right into what game that edge is cutting into.

VICTOR LEMAY

The *Maclean's* Book Selector List now appears in *Q* magazine. Note Page 63.



Rough beating up players was a higher priority than scoring goals

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wheel's natural inclination to toe out, making hagen turns seem too low and far between. New add 4-wheel power disc brakes, body-mounted bucket seats, 3-spoke aluminum wheels, a driver-side air bag and a low wheel-

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What does it mean to win Motor Trend Car of the Year? It states in no uncertain terms that you have built the very best. But don't take our word for it, the editors

of Motor Trend Magazine can speak for themselves. Ford's new Probe GT is a landmark car. The 2.5 liter V-6 engine is a masterpiece. The Probe GT delivers the most overall

driving enjoyment you can get in this class for the money. Naturally we are in complete and total agreement. **Quality is Job 1. It's working.**





An uphill battle against reality

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

There are several reasons, as I told readers last June, for writing this column. One is that my Gogo-Rolex children must be kept in the mire they are accustomed to. Another reason is that I am, as most people know, somewhat unemployed, and on Wednesday evenings—double day—have absolutely nothing to do and so, restless as usual, look at the computer until Thursday when I almost never get it done unless I wait until Friday and then, just to keep the editors amused, sometimes write it out until Saturday morning as the last redaction that it will still hit the Toronto newsstands on Monday morning. I like suspense.

The final reason, which is a real hoist, is to play tricks on readers. This keeps me in gales. Occasionally, just to see if they are paying attention—or is badly slumbering, while perusing this pointless piece—I slip in a little laughter.

One must realize that I once worked for a newspaper run by a publisher who believed columnists could be judged on how much they received. Every day he would cruise by the mail slots of his editorial scribblers and guess how many envelopes were stuffed into each slot.

A wily old sports scribe, knowing the game, thinking his greyness in danger, would leave his column an effort in silence to Boris. Boris's letters earned at 715 hours now. Now, as my debt looms, the Sultan of Sweet 16714 harem, and small copyists, struggling with their brains, would stuff the old sock's mailbag for weeks with the complaints from outraged readers. The publisher, passing by, would stare at the old cat's almost empty bag.

So it is that recently, when to test the theory, I decided to down low many readers—especially in Saskatchewan—were actually reading the back page. By removing the flow of the South Saskatchewan and North Saskatchewan, I found out that approximately three-quarters of the population of the province read the column, and therefore plan to promptly march into the office of the new publisher, who



I have never formally met, and demand that he make his editor great as increase as the publisher his organization practices on me.

One of the 384,373 people who have written—not getting any job—was an engineer. I do not like engineers, since they once kidnapped me at university and chained me to the Berta dock at Georgia and Granville in Vancouver at rush hour. It occurred to me to find out how many engineers read this column. I have found out—this particular day pointed out that the first thing they were taught in their first-year class was that water cannot run uphill.

He mentioned that the waters that pass through beautiful Saskatchewan do not in fact flow west into Alberta and end up in the Arctic Ocean but—hard to believe—head east and eventually, through Lake Winnipeg, get into Hudson Bay and thence the Atlantic.

Those of us on the press bus used to make

fun of Joe Clark when in campaign speeches he ranted about Canada stretching "from sea to sea to sea." We all know now that he was entirely correct, referring to a vast country that was bounded by the Pacific, the Atlantic and the Arctic.

It's quite clear, in my opinion that no one appreciates because my geography book was spelt down, that the waters of the Saskatchewan that flow through the Mackenzie into the Arctic Ocean of course eventually end with the Atlantic, water being water, and the muddy floods that pass through Saskatchewan eventually end up on the coast of Ireland. Simple?

We play many tricks on our readers. Just a week ago I made a reference to an insurance agent's answer firm. Someone, perhaps a legal bird, but more likely with a great sense of humor, reversed the correct reference. This is part of the humorous tricks we play around here.

The Canadian Cancer Society tells me that nearly 45,000 Canadians die of smoking every year. People are in the courts every month in the United States suing the tobacco people for the deaths of their mothers and grandmothers. "Cancer sticks" has been part of the language ever since I was a pup.

The stud who posed as the Marlboro man in the sick magazine ended up campaigning against the weed—just before he died of lung cancer. The last newspaperman I ever knew smoked himself to death and so did my best friend, Marjorie Nichols, who was paid that five packs a day will do anyone in.

Every cigarette package contains the warnings and the papers are full of the facts that prognosticators should not be lighting a fire under their nose. Does someone really think, as critics has all smoking and Toronto tries to become a smoke-free city, that smoking doesn't cause cancer? This column is about humor, am I not?

Recently, when the CBC announced that the new welcome co-host of its Prime Time News would be Pam Wallin, from Windsor, Saskatchewan. She-colored, Joey Singer wrote that this obviously was a job, since there couldn't possibly be a place called Windsor.

There was no mistake for us, people bombarding the paper with stress, and the mayor of Windsor facing an outraged letter to the editor testifying to the fact that not only he but the town cried.

I left for Singer. Seize, as they say on Broadway, in what dies on Saturday night. Singer, as truth, was born in Saskatchewan. So was I. And he thinks he has trouble. He has never tried to make water run uphill.

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